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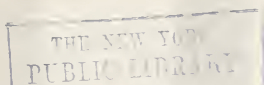
General
Daniel
Davidson
Bidwell

To
Julius Herbert Martin
from
Frederick David Bidwell

AN

Bidwell, D.

General Daniel Davidson Bidwell



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GENERAL DANIEL DAVIDSON BIDWELL
PROPOSED EQUESTRIAN STATUE
TO BE ERECTED IN BUFFALO

The Life of
General
Daniel
Davidson
Bidwell

Compiled by
FREDERICK DAVID BIDWELL

Albany,
New York

[190-?]]

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J. B. LYON COMPANY
GENERAL PRINTERS
ALBANY - NEW YORK

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GENERAL BIDWELL IN BRONZE



The drums of mem'ry sound the call to arms
And time-dimmed sabres flash above the foe,
The teeth of cannon gnaw the verdant farms,
The torch of battle sets the land aglow.
From yesterday the hosts heroic sweep
With rattling caisson, ringing bugle blast;
Grim warriors have been aroused from sleep
And hasten from the hushed and sacred past.

Far in the van of that relentless wave
Of steel and courage, bade by God to surge,
Stand out in bold relief the super brave
By heaven chosen, arrogance to scourge;
And of them all there is no fairer sight
Than Bidwell, on his sable steed astride,
Revealed by hist'ry's all disclosing light,
A martial pilot stemming war's red tide.

The vision wanes, the throng of heroes fade;
Back to the calm and hallowed realms of fame
Go regiment and jingling cavalcade,
On toward the horizon from which they came.
Security romps joyous in the vale,
For destiny the road of conflict stills,
Destroys the musket and the coat of mail
And bids the sun of peace rise o'er the hills.

Those who were saved to watch the nation rise,
And who forever shall revere the right,
Are not unmindful of the sacrifice
Made by the brave who fought and won the fight,
And thus to him whose soul made quick ascent
When victory seemed dim and far away,
Shall rise a tall and lasting monument;
And there shall pilgrims' wreaths of laurel lay.

In deathless bronze, again he draws his blade—
That gleamed the path of loyalty to save—
And glances down with aspect fond and staid
Upon the land his valor helped to save,
Nor shall the night his martial splendor hide.
For silver stars their radiance shall shed
While he spurs onward in his endless ride
Of silent glory, by devotion led.

—Frederic Cardoze.

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY

GENERAL DANIEL DAVIDSON BIDWELL came of Puritan ancestry, his direct ancestor having been John Bidwell, one of the pioneers of the Hartford Colony. In the old graveyard of the First Congregational Church of Hartford, Connecticut, now called the Center Cemetery or Ancient Burying Ground is a monument to the founders of the colony which contains one hundred and one names. The first name upon the monument is that of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, who in 1636 led the little party over one hundred miles thru a trackless wilderness from Newtown, now Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the banks of the Connecticut, where the settlement of Hartford was made. In bold inscription upon the north face of this monument appears the name of John Bidwell as one of the founders of the colony.

John Bidwell had a tan yard on an island in what is now Bushnell Park in Hartford. His house lot was on the east side of Trumbull street, near Pearl, in that city in 1640. With Joseph Bull he built a saw mill on Saw Mill River, now Herkanum River in 1669. They were granted 240 acres in the next commons for timber for their mill in 1671. He shared with three others in a tract of 270 acres in the distribution of 1666 probably lying along Burnside avenue, once Bidwell's lane.

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Hartford was a dual community and had maintained its unity under a virtual treaty by which the north side and the south side inhabitants shared in equally in its government. In 1669 the Second Church of Hartford was organized, most of its founders being south side inhabitants. John Bidwell and his wife, Sarah Wilcox, were among the original members of this Second Church.

Descending to the fifth generation we reach John Bidwell, the grandfather of General Bidwell. He was born at Chatham, Connecticut, December 28, 1750. In the Revolutionary War he served in the campaign around New York in August, September and October as a sergeant in the 23d Regiment of Connecticut Militia and participated in the battles of Long Island and White Plains. The next year he participated in the two battles of Saratoga, being orderly sergeant in Captain Blake's company of Colonel Thaddeus Cook's regiment.

Then until the close of the war he was Assistant Commissary under Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, who was one of the State's Commissaries appointed to supply all necessary stores and provisions for the troops.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Chatham, Connecticut, November 14, 1780, John Bidwell, Samuel Taylor and Gideon Arnold were chosen to receive the salt provided by the State for the Town of Chatham and also to receive the provision as it was brought in and to inspect and procure the cask and put up the same.

The same day John Bidwell, Samuel Taylor and Gideon Arnold were chosen to collect the assessment on the inhabitants and the tax on the non-residents.

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It was voted on January 8, 1781, to raise a rate of one penny and a half penny on the pound to be paid in flour and corn agreeable to an act of General Assembly in order to supply the State soldiers. The persons chosen to receive and collect the said rate were John Bidwell, Samuel Taylor and Jared Parmelee.

On July 5, 1781, John Bidwell, Gideon Arnold and Enoch Smith, Jr., were chosen receivers of provision and clothing.

After the Revolutionary War he moved to Kinderhook in New York State and purchased a farm of 240 acres where he died in 1825.

The ninth child of John Bidwell was Benjamin Bidwell, born at Chatham, Connecticut, May 7, 1790. In the ship yard of his brother-in-law, Asa Stannard, at Hudson, New York, he learned the trade of ship-builder. Porter, Barton and Company were developing the Niagara Frontier and in 1808 they contracted with Asa Stannard to come to Lewiston on the Niagara river and build a vessel for them. A second vessel was built, and then Asa Stannard, with Benjamin Bidwell as a partner, established a ship yard at Black Rock.

It was in the ship yard of Stannard and Bidwell at Black Rock that Henry Eckford sent by the Government to superintend the preparation of five vessels for the fleet of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, had the work performed. Out from the ship yard of Stannard and Bidwell at Black Rock on June 6, 1813, Captain Perry sailed with the *Caledonia*, *Somers*, *Amelia*, *Ohio*, and *Contractor*, his flotilla being loaded with naval stores. He reached Erie, Pennsylvania, thirteen days later. Benjamin Bidwell went to Erie

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and assisted in building the brigs Lawrence and Niagara.

“As a gunner in Lieutenant John Seeley’s company of artillery consisting of twenty-five men, Benjamin Bidwell participated in the ill-fated battle of Black Rock on December 30, 1813.

Mrs. Jonathan Sidway’s “Recollections of the Burning of Buffalo during the War of 1812” among other things says:

“Not long after father’s return from Fort George (her father was Gamaliel Saint John), say three or four days, Colonel Preston sent a special messenger requesting him to come over to Fort Erie. On going over to Fort Erie he learned that Colonel Preston wanted to know where the ferry boats were. After much counseling as to ways and means by which the military supplies could be got across the river, he was requested by Colonel Preston to go and hunt up the ferry boat and see that it was made available for that purpose.

“He engaged to do so. On coming back to this side of the Niagara River he found that one Orange Dean had some special grants from the State authorities giving him control over the ferry, but that in consequence of the war he had, for a time at least, abandoned his rights, and had taken his boat down to Seajaquada Creek and sunk it.

“Father went down to the creek and calling on Benjamin Bidwell, a young man living near that creek, engaged him as a ship carpenter to help in repairing the boat in the event of its being found. It was found deep in the mud, and seriously broken, but the bottom

was found to be sound. Benjamin Bidwell was the chief worker in making the necessary repairs, in which he was more or less assisted in various ways by others, among whom was my brother, Elijah."

Captain Augustus Walker's paper "From Early Days on the Lakes," says: "The schooner, Erie, was built by Stannard and Bidwell in 1816 and was owned by Sill, Thompson and Company, and Captain M. T. Miller commanded her the first and second seasons. At that time she was considered a fine model, having a large amount of dead-rise to her floor. She was acknowledged by all to be the fastest sailor upon the lakes, especially in beating to windward. The schooner, Red Jacket, was built by Stannard and Bidwell at Black Rock in 1820. She was the last sail craft built by them, steamboats now having come into use upon the lakes."

Stannard and Bidwell with all the carpenters in their employ were engaged in the construction of the first steamboat launched upon the lakes, The-Walk-in-the-Water, which was built at Black Rock in 1818.

In 1821 Asa Stannard retired from the firm, chapter 194 of the State session laws of that year having leased the ferry and ferry lot at Black Rock for a period of five years at an annual rental of \$100. Stannard's sons followed the water and became captains of lake steamers. The shipbuilding firm now became Bidwell and Davidson and with the opening of the Erie Canal the ship yard was moved from Black Rock to Buffalo. After the death of Davidson the firm was Bidwell and Banta. Larned's "History of Buffalo," says: "The old ship yard of Bidwell

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and Banta was a busy and important place for several decades. The first screw propellor that was built on these lake shores went into the water from its ways; and it launched some of the grandest passenger steamers of half a century ago.”

When the Buffalo Board of Trade was organized in 1845 Benjamin Bidwell was one of the original members. His death occurred December 21, 1862.

The mother of General Bidwell was quite a remarkable woman. Her name was Jane Harvey and she was born in Vermont August 1, 1791. She came to Black Rock in 1810 and she married Benjamin Bidwell July 25, 1811.

To stimulate Union sentiment in Buffalo during the Civil War Mrs. Jane Harvey Bidwell and thirty-seven ladies of Buffalo who were resident in Black Rock or Buffalo during the War of 1812 presented on July 4, 1861 to Ex-President Millard Fillmore as captain of the Union Continentals, a beautiful flag, the staff of which was composed of eighteen pieces of wood of various sorts native to America, typifying the eighteen states which constituted the Federal Union in 1812.

In 1906 the Buffalo Historical Society in Volume IX published “Pioneer Reminiscences by Mrs. Jonathan Sidway, Mrs. Martha Saint John Skinner, Mrs. Jane Harvey Bidwell, William Hedge and others who bore a part in the strenuous days of Buffalo’s infancy.” The introduction states that these papers were written many years ago and deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society. At that time the society was not able to undertake their publication; but the

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wise forethought which saw to it that these papers were penned before it was too late, now enables us to help fill in the printed record of Buffalo's early days, especially of the crucial days of the War of 1812.

Mrs. Bidwell's paper was entitled "In the Midst of Alarms; Experiences of Black Rock and Buffalo Families under the fire of the Enemy in the War of 1812," and was dated February 22, 1864. It is given herewith:

"About the fore part of October 1812 we were alarmed by the British firing across the Niagara River, tho nothing serious occurred until our own men crossed and cut out the two vessels then stationed off Fort Erie, which caused great excitement. While trying to bring them across one of them got away and floated down the river, landing on the out side of Squaw Island, where she grounded, and the British burned her. The other vessel our men brought over safe and landed her in Scajaquada Creek. While Major Cuyler was giving orders to his men to get ropes from a storehouse to tow her down, a cannon ball took his head off, as he sat on his horse. This caused a still greater alarm, and the inhabitants one and all sought safe places of refuge.

"My husband, Benjamin Bidwell, came home at sunrise, and requested me to go with him to his sister's, Mrs. Stannard's, who lived across a small run near by, not more than one hundred feet distant. As the cellar to her house was barricaded, we thought it a safe retreat; but while we were going to Mrs. Stannard's a cannon ball passed us, the concussion of

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which threw down a little girl I was leading by the hand, but no injury was done her. My child being sick, I was obliged to carry him in my arms.

“When we arrived at our sister’s, we concluded the woods would be a safe place, accordingly we direct our journey thither, where we met with many of our acquaintances, among others, Mrs. Sill, and Mrs. Seeley, with their families. Mrs. Sill went to her home for provisions and cooking utensils. After we had kindled a fire and had the breakfast nearly ready, another cannon ball took possession of it, scattering it all over the woods; whereupon we thought best to scatter ourselves and not wait for the enemy’s balls to do it.

“Mr. Bidwell went back to Mr. Stannard’s barn, harnessed the horses, hitched them to the wagon, returned to the woods, took all the children and such as could not walk in the wagon; and leaving the rest to follow, we went out to Cold Springs and stopped with Mr. Hodge, where we succeeded in getting our breakfast after four o’clock P. M. After tarrying with Mr. Hodge one night and two days, we returned to our homes.

“Some two or three weeks after this, a party of soldiers and sailors crossed the river, spiked the cannon and burned the barracks just opposite our house. A house belonging to Mr. Douglas they made their quarters, where they kept their prisoners and their dead and wounded, and brought Lieutenant King to a house across the road from our house, where he remained until his death from wounds. While he was there I did his cooking.

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“We were next disturbed on Sunday, the 15th of July, when the alarm was given that the red-coats had crossed the river and were marching on Black Rock, taking our men prisoners as they went along. Colonel Bisshopp commanding the expedition of the red-coats, came to me, wishing to enter a grocery owned by Mr. Williams, which had been left in my possession, under the plea of wishing to buy tea and tobacco. As there was none, he found a cask of goods that was to be sent to Fort George. Being anxious to see the contents he took his sword and commenced ripping it open. While doing so the trumpet sounded and he left for the battlefield. Where the house afterwards built by General Porter now stands, Colonel Bisshopp was shot from his horse. They took him to the beach, placed him in a boat to carry him across the river, and he died.

“The next day, Monday, we left our home and went to the Plains, stopping with Mr. Atkins one week, when we again returned to our homes, where we remained until Lewiston was burned. Being again alarmed, we went to Mr. Curtiss’ place on the Plains and stayed about ten days. In the meantime the government had possession of our homes for quarters.

“We did not return again until after the burning of Black Rock and Buffalo. Our house being burned with the rest; we went from Mr. Curtiss’ to Harris’ tavern, beyond Eleven-mile Creek. From there we went to Spooner’s tavern, where we found a great many from Buffalo, the Wells and Johnson families and others. From there we started for Kinderhook

on the Hudson River. We did not return until the next August.

“In the following November we rebuilt part of our house. During a great part of the time Mr. Bidwell was engaged in building the fleet at Sacketts Harbor and Erie; and at the burning of Black Rock and Buffalo he was one of the volunteers who started from Cold Springs to try and protect Black Rock and Buffalo, and drive the red-coats back. At the time Colonel Bishopp was shot Mr. Bidwell and Mr. Stannard were engaged in making oars for the government.”

Mrs. Bidwell was seventy-three years of age when the above was written. She died March 4, 1875.



THE BOYHOOD OF BIDWELL

Back in the days of the Pilgrims bold,
On the bleak New England shore,
Westward from Newtown to Hartford's site
A small band brave Hooker bore.

Then, when the Red Coats came marching on,
It was John, of Kinderhook,
Who led a company in that war
That brought the English to book.

These were the ancestors Bidwell had,
And a mighty force were they;
Builders of empire in a new world,
Molders of destiny's clay.

Likewise, the boyhood of Daniel's day,
Spent on the open frontier,
Fraught with the hardships of yesterday,
But schooled him for deeds we revere.

Down on the bank at the Black Rock yard,
With a father stern, but just,
Bidwell was taught that the life to live
Was the life we all could trust.

Then, when the summit of excellence
Crowned the labors once began,
All have exclaimed in a unit:
“ 'Tis the boy that makes the man.”

William Primrose Bidwell.

CHAPTER II

BUFFALO'S EARLY DAYS

The Niagara frontier has been successively French, English and American. Fort Niagara was built at the portage around the Falls by the French in 1726. It was the strongest of the chain of French establishments stretching from Quebec to New Orleans. For over a quarter of a century it was the base of supplies for the upper French posts on the Lakes and also for those French posts to the south of Lake Erie. For a time it was the most important Indian rendezvous in America for trade.

During the French and Indian War Fort Niagara was captured by the English in 1759 and with the conclusion of peace in 1763 French dominion on the Niagara frontier was at an end.

In the Revolutionary War Fort Niagara was held by the English and from this rendezvous parties of Indians and tories set out to terrorize the American settlements. It was from Fort Niagara in 1778 that Major John Butler led a band of eight hundred Indians and tories to massacre the Americans settled in the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. The Cherry Valley massacre the same year was by Indians and tories from Fort Niagara under Joseph Brant and Walter Butler. And the next year from Fort Niagara went sixty-five Indians and twenty-seven tories under

Joseph Brant three hundred miles across the State to massacre the American settlement at Minisink.

General John Sullivan was sent with an American army in 1779 to carry the war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, and destroy their next year's crops. He utterly defeated the Indians and Tories in a pitched battle at Newtown, now Elmira, and laid waste their lands as far west as the Genesee River. It is not known why he did not advance further and capture Fort Niagara.

The Seneca Indians sought British protection under the guns of Fort Niagara and established themselves on the south side of Buffalo Creek. In 1796 Fort Niagara passed into the hands of the Americans.

The name Buffalo Creek first appears in a manuscript map dated in 1764 which is now on file in the British Museum. It would seem that there were bison on the southern shore of Lake Erie as late as 1721.

Black Rock, which became part of Buffalo in 1853, received its name from an outcrop of darkly colored limestone rock so shaped and placed by nature as to afford a singularly favorable landing place on the American shore of the Niagara River near its head.

By 1800 there was a road to the river margin over a plateau of land about two hundred feet in width. Upon the northern extremity of this plateau there was a black rock something of an irregular triangle in shape and which projected into the Niagara River. At its northern end it had a breadth of about one hundred feet, and extending eastward along the river for a distance of three hundred feet, gradually

inclining to the southeast, until it was lost in the sand. The rock was four or five feet high, and at its southern extremity it was square, so that an eddy was formed there, into which the ferry boat could be brought, and where it would be beyond the influence of the current. Teams could be driven from this rock into the ferry boat over a connecting bridge. The natural harbor was almost perfect and could not have been made by man's art a more complete dock or boat landing place.

During the French rule what afterwards came to be known as Buffalo Creek was by them characterized as *Riviere aux Chevaux*, meaning river of horses.

Chabert Joncaire was one of the most active and useful agents of France upon the Niagara frontier. In 1758 he received the following instructions:

“The said *Sieur de Chabert* shall apply himself to cultivate the lands at the river *Aux Chevaux*, situated six leagues from the Portage at the entrance to Lake Erie, where the pasture is excellent. He will plant there Indian corn, beans, etc., and to that end he will take to the Little Fort the *batteaux* and vehicles needed to send to the Streight the animals and other things needed for the establishment at the said river.”

To Buffalo Creek Chabert Joncaire came, planted crops and reared buildings; a dwelling house, a blacksmith shop, a great barn one hundred feet long, a storehouse, and other structures. This farmstead, of which there is clear record, was the first white man's home within the limits of the present city of Buffalo.

The Indian title to all lands in New York State west of the Genesee river, excepting ten reservations aggregating 337 square miles, was extinguished in

1797 at the Big Tree Treaty made at Geneseo at which it is said 3,000 Indians gathered for the occasion, and under the sanction of the United States government Robert Morris of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, paid to the Six Nations \$100,000.

One of these Indian reservations was the Buffalo Creek Reservation, where the Seneca Indians had taken refuge at the time of the General Sullivan expedition in 1779. Not until 1842 did the Seneca Indians deed this land to the white people and remove to the West so that it was a common sight to see Indians walking the streets of Buffalo in blankets and moccasins until near the middle of the nineteenth century.

Under the royal charters which created them as English colonies, both Massachusetts and New York could claim unlimited extensions of boundary, the Massachusetts belt cutting thru that of New York. Commissioners from the two states met at Hartford, Connecticut, in December 1786 and entered into an agreement by which subject to Indian rights, the title to lands in Western New York, excepting a strip of one mile in width along the eastern shore of Niagara river, which New York reserved and which became known as the State Mile Strip, became vested in the State of Massachusetts. What Massachusetts obtained under this agreement were such proprietary rights over Western New York soil as were deducible from her colonial charter, while New York kept sovereignty over that and the rest.

Massachusetts sold its proprietary rights to all lands west of the Genesee river to Robert Morris in

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1790, and he in turn in 1792 and 1793 sold most of it to several Americans who held the land in trust for a group of capitalists in Holland. These transactions constituted what became known as "The Holland Purchase."

In 1797 the Holland Company selected Joseph Ellicott of Pennsylvania as chief surveyor to survey their lands in Western New York preparatory to placing them on the market for sale. A brother, Andrew Ellicott, was employed by the United States government in 1790 to survey and lay out the city of Washington, and Joseph Ellicott had assisted him in this work.

In the spring of 1798 Joseph Ellicott arrived in Western New York with one hundred and fifty hands to assist him in laying out the Holland Purchase into townships. The principal office of the Holland Purchase was at Batavia, but no sooner had the keen eye of this veteran surveyor rested on the location at the mouth of the Buffalo Creek than he saw that it was the most important position in that whole section.

But the lands at the mouth of the Buffalo Creek into Lake Erie had not been included in the Holland Purchase and were still possessed by the Seneca Indians. William Johnston came to the Indian village on Buffalo Creek in 1780. Here he married a wife from the Senecas and built a small log house upon land given to him by the Indians. He had great influence with the tribe and thru him Joseph Ellicott persuaded the Senecas to exchange a considerable stretch of the lower part of Buffalo Creek adjoining

the lake for other lands further south in what is now Cattaraugus County.

For several years Joseph Ellicott's time was taken in laying out townships further east and subdividing them into lots for sale, so that it was not until 1804 that he was able to survey and map out his future city at the mouth of Buffalo Creek which he named New Amsterdam. His streets and avenues were also christened with Dutch names such as Vollenheven, Schimmelpennick, Vanstophorst, etc. But the early settlers soon discarded these names for more easily pronounced English names and when the United States government established the post office here in 1804 it refused to recognize Joseph Ellicott's New Amsterdam, but denominated the post office Buffalo Creek.

Once a week a solitary horseman came from Canandaigua with a pair of saddle bags, and the trifling mail, and once a week he returned from Fort Niagara. The first postmaster was Erastus Granger who came in 1803 as superintendent of Indian affairs, and when Buffalo Creek was made a port of entry in 1805 he was appointed collector of customs for this district.

Buffalo Creek and the New Amsterdam of the Holland Purchase had nothing in the nature of a port to compete with the natural harbor, tho small, and of the wharf of Black Rock, which was outside of the Holland Purchase and within the State Mile Strip. Entrance to Buffalo Creek from Lake Erie was unsheltered from storms, and was obstructed so badly by a sand-bar. that, according to the

recollections of one old resident, even canoes were sometimes shut out, and footmen walked dry shod across the mouth.

When the State Mile Strip was surveyed and the land offered for sale Augustus Porter and his brother, Peter Buell Porter, in association with Benjamin Barton and Joseph Annin, purchased in 1805 the landing places at Black Rock and Lewiston and also the Niagara Portage. With the ferries and portage in their possession, the firm of Porter, Barton and Company held the monopoly of transportation in the whole region. The firm built and retained the ownership of vessels on Lakes Erie and Ontario and supplied the military posts along the Great Lakes as far as Mackinaw, Chicago and Fort Wayne. Hence the systematic carrying trade of Porter, Barton and Company gave an importance to Black Rock which started a growth of settlement around it and as a rival village seriously threatened the prosperity of Joseph Ellicott's ambitious town of New Amsterdam.

The first tavern in Buffalo was started by John Palmer in 1795. At that time there was a collection of four or five log houses occupied by white people and the settlement was known as Lake Erie. It was near the Seneca village of Buffalo Creek.

In 1808 Buffalo was made the county seat of Niagara County then set off from Genesee County. In 1811 a small weekly newspaper, *The Buffalo Gazette*, began to be published. In the same year thru the influence of the Porter family the rival village of Black Rock was made the port of entry during the season of navigation from April first to December

first, while the office of collector of customs was located at Buffalo during the remainder of the year.

In 1812 the first church society was organized in Buffalo, being in reality of union constitution, but in 1816 its name was changed to the First Presbyterian Society, and the next year Saint Paul's Episcopal Church was organized and also a Methodist Episcopal Church. As the Presbyterians were using the court house for their meetings and the Episcopalians the school house, the Methodists had to hurry the building of a meeting house of their own, and the Methodist church dedicated in 1819 was the first church building erected in Buffalo.

It seems probable that the first school was kept by Joseph Richard Palmer in his brother's tavern. In 1801 he wrote to Joseph Ellicott at Batavia asking that the Land Company of which Ellicott was the land agent, would donate a lot on which a schoolhouse could be built. No deed of a lot was ever recorded. In 1807 a meeting of the inhabitants was held at Landon's tavern and sixteen residents subscribed \$127.87 for the building of a school house. Captain Samuel Pratt subscribed the largest amount, which was \$22. The school house was not completed until 1809 and then four years later it was burned by the English during the War of 1812.

Down to 1867 the public schools of the State were not free schools. Tuition was charged the children whose parents were able to pay for the same. The last year, 1866, the rate bill system was in effect thruout the State there was collected from parents for the tuition of their children the sum of \$709,025.36

and probably during the fifty-three years this odious system was in force probably over twenty million dollars was collected by rate bills. Gradually city after city made their public schools free, and Buffalo has the honor of having been the first city in the State in which tuition fees were abolished and its public schools made absolutely free. This was done in 1839.

For over one hundred years the Niagara frontier had been embroiled more or less in the struggles of three nations for supremacy. When war clouds began to darken the horizon in the early part of the nineteenth century the residents of the Niagara frontier were filled with fear and apprehension from reports of Indian outrages in the Northwest where hostile savages were roaming over the Wabash region plundering and terrifying the white settlers. Tecumseh was endeavoring to form an Indian confederacy for making war upon the United States. In November, 1811, the Indians made a night attack on the camp of General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe, the governor of the territory of Indiana, but they were utterly routed. It was believed that the Indians were receiving encouragement from the English in Canada. As war with England seemed inevitable the inhabitants of Buffalo and Black Rock looked with anxious eyes on the half tamed Senecas in their midst upon the Indian reservation on the Buffalo Creek, some of whom at least had participated in the Indian massacres during the Revolutionary War. There was a possibility that the Senecas would cast their lot with their Canadian kin who had accepted the English war belt.

In May, 1812, Erastus Granger, superintendent of Indian affairs, held a council at Buffalo with the chiefs of the Six Nations in the United States and urged them to remain neutral in the impending conflict. They agreed to do this. Later many of them fought on the American side in the war.

The history of the War of 1812 as a whole is the story of a reckless undertaking totally unprepared for and little understood. Western New York was represented in Congress by Peter Buell Porter of Black Rock who belonged to the vehement group of War Hawks who followed the lead of Henry Clay and John Caldwell Calhoun in demanding armed resistance to the domineering use of English power at sea. Congressman Porter was chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and he prepared the report which recommended war, the same being formally adopted June 18, 1812. There is no doubt that the people of Buffalo and Black Rock were anxious for peace and not war.

The Canadians received word of the declaration of war before the Americans and on the morning of the 26th of June a small vessel loaded with salt, which had just left Black Rock, was noticed entering Lake Erie by some of the citizens of Buffalo and presently an English armed vessel from Fort Erie was seen making its way toward the American ship. The latter was soon overtaken and boarded and then both vessels turned their prows toward the Canadian stronghold. The news of war spread with lightning-like rapidity among the inhabitants of the frontier villages of Buffalo and Black Rock. Dire was the confusion

created. Divers counsels prevailed. Some were organizing as militia or volunteers; others alarmed by the reports of instant invasion and by the ever horrible tale of Indian massacre, made a hasty retreat with their families eastward to the Genesee river. So great was the dismay that Joseph Ellicott issued an address to the settlers on the Holland Purchase, assuring them that the lines were well guarded and the country safe from invasion.

Batteries erected on each side of Niagara river defied each other by occasional shots, but did not come into use until October. Lieutenant Jesse Duncan Elliott and a detachment of sailors arrived at Black Rock on October 8th from New York. On the Canadian side were two former American ships, the brig, "Adams," of six guns, and the schooner, "Caledonia," of two guns. Leaving the American shore, at one o'clock on the morning of the 9th Lieutenant Elliott and his men in three boats crossed over and after a sharp conflict captured these two vessels and succeeded in bringing the "Caledonia" over to Black Rock, but the "Adams" ran aground and was set on fire and burned.

The English batteries opened up a heavy cannonading and Major William Howe Cuyler was killed as he was galloping with orders along the river road before five o'clock in the morning. Some three hundred shots were fired from the English batteries several of which passed thru buildings at Black Rock. The consternation which ensued is well described by Mrs. Jane Harvey Bidwell in her paper, "In the Midst of Alarms," telling of how the residents of Black Rock

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fled to the woods and attempted to cook their breakfast, but were dispersed by a cannon ball, and then fled to Cold Springs.

In 1813 Black Rock was almost denuded of troops altho an important supply center. The enemy became aware that only ten artillerymen garrisoned the block house at Black Rock, and resolved to organize an expedition. The English force was about four hundred and the American force nearly equal. The English wrought considerable damage following the first surprise on July 11th, but the Americans quickly rallied, and finally forced the surrender of the greater part of the English force, the commander of which was Colonel Cecil Bisshopp, who was mortally wounded.

The Americans had been greatly handicapped in the prosecution of the war by the fact that the enemy held possession of the great lakes. Captain Oliver Hazard Perry was sent to Erie, Pennsylvania, to drive the English off of Lake Erie. Here he hastily constructed five vessels, the "Lawrence," "Niagara," "Ariel," "Porcupine," and "Tigress." At the shipyard of Stannard and Bidwell at Black Rock were fitted out five other vessels, the "Caledonia," "Somers," "Amelia," "Ohio," and "Contractor," which sailed away June 13th and reached Erie six days later. On September 10th Captain Perry completely annihilated the English squadron and opened the way for General Harrison's invasion of Canada.

On the night of December 29th one thousand English regulars under command of General Phineas Riall crossed Niagara river just below Black Rock.

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Altho there was over two thousand American militia in the vicinity of Buffalo and Black Rock the Americans were badly beaten in the engagement which occurred the following day. In retaliation for the burning of Newark in Canada by the American General George McClure when he abandoned Fort George early in December, General Riall ordered the burning of both Black Rock and Buffalo. The Americans fled in all directions, some stopping at Harris' tavern fourteen miles from Buffalo. The winter of 1813-14 was one of great suffering for the pioneer families of these two frontier villages and the Legislature of the State of New York voted \$40,000 in aid of the devastated district.

With the coming of spring rebuilding took place rapidly. Most of the old families returned and also many new ones. In 1816 Buffalo was incorporated as a village. Sixteen years later it become a city.

In 1817 the State began the construction of the Erie canal and the great question was should its western terminus be Black Rock or Buffalo.

The first steamboat on the great lakes, the "Walk-in-the-Water," had been constructed in 1818 at the shipyard of Stannard and Bidwell at Black Rock, but its engines were not strong enough to make the ascent of the swift current of the Niagara river the two miles up to Lake Erie, so that on each return trip of the steamer a dozen yoke of oxen had to drag it from Black Rock to Lake Erie. Buffalonians of course noted this flaw in Black Rock's harbor claims and it encouraged them to get harbor improvements of their own effected. Their own village could compete very

favorably with their rival if satisfactory harbor work was carried out.

At a hearing of the State Canal Commissioners in 1822 General Peter Buell Porter presented the arguments in favor of Black Rock, while Samuel Wilkeson presented those in favor of Buffalo. The hearing was also attended by five canal engineers who had surveyed the sites in controversy.

The waters of the Niagara river in the vicinity of Black Rock harbor were shallow and rapid and rendered their navigation by vessels of moderate craft difficult and dangerous. The Canal Commissioners planned for a larger harbor than it was possible to build at Black Rock. Two miles south of Black Rock a small stream known as Buffalo Creek emptied its waters into Lake Erie. This creek was available for canoes for some eight or nine miles above its mouth; in the latter part of its course for a mile or more it was deep enough to float the largest lake ship of the time, but there was a troublesome sand-bar at its mouth, and the entrance to the creek was uncertain, crooked and bad, making the inner harbor very difficult, and sometimes impossible of entrance. The problem was to remove this wretched bar and to render the entrance straight and stable.

Samuel Wilkeson was a member of the Chautauqua County militia which had participated in the Battle of Black Rock in December, 1813. The next year he became a resident of the burned village of Buffalo and he at once saw that the future growth and importance of the village depended upon the immediate construction of a harbor. In 1819 a harbor company

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was incorporated and Mr. Wilkeson was largely instrumental in securing for it a loan of \$12,000 from the State of New York for the construction of such harbor, but the loan was secured by individual bonds and mortgages of the members of the company for twice the amount of the loan. If the harbor when completed was unacceptable to the State authorities these people would be obliged to pay to the State the sum of \$24,000.

Altho he had never seen a harbor, Mr. Wilkeson consented to neglect his own private business and become superintendent of the construction of Buffalo harbor. Working under many handicaps, insufficient amount of capital, poor and few tools, adverse weather conditions, etc., yet in two hundred and twenty-one working days he had completed the task, removed the sand-bar, and had a channel ninety feet wide at the bottom and as deep as the creek. From this time on small vessels could enter and depart from Buffalo harbor without interruption.

While 1819 is memorable for the construction of Buffalo harbor, on August 12th of that year occurred the birth at Black Rock of Daniel Davidson Bidwell.

In July, 1783, George Washington went west on the Mohawk river as far as Fort Schuyler and at that time he saw the advantage of a water communication between the Hudson river and the great lakes. While agitation had been going on for such a water communication even before Washington's visit, it was not until over thirty years later that the State took definite action. Canal commissioners were appointed in 1816 with De Witt Clinton as president and on July 4,

1817, the work of construction was actually begun just west of Rome. Eight years were spent in its construction. The opening of the Erie canal on October 26, 1825, was planned with an elaborate ceremony. Governor DeWitt Clinton had come to Buffalo and a packet boat, the "Seneca Chief," was to take the Governor and a party of distinguished men on the first trip on the canal from the great lakes to the sea.

After a procession of military and civic bodies thru the streets of Buffalo to the canal basin at ten o'clock, the boat started on her memorable voyage. That moment a cannon was fired, an instant later the faint sound of another report was heard from far down the canal; and so the starting of the Governor's boat was signalled from gun to gun, planted at proper distances apart, till the inarticulate announcement reached Albany, and a responsive signal came back. This message was three hours and twenty minutes in making its circuit of some seven hundred miles.

Some time later a committee which had accompanied the Governor to New York brought water from the Atlantic ocean and it was poured into Lake Erie with fitting ceremony.

A boy six years old stood in the immense throng that witnessed the departure of Governor DeWitt Clinton from Buffalo that October day and his name was Daniel Davidson Bidwell.

After the completion of the Erie canal Black Rock harbor began to lose and Buffalo continued to gain in commerce. The little village to the north was no longer a rival of Buffalo.

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On the fourth of July, 1826, the Jubilee Water Works Company began operation for the purpose of supplying Buffalo with water from the Jubilee Springs, a fountain of pure water one and a half miles from Black Rock. In 1834 a railroad was built between Buffalo and Black Rock on which horse cars were operated. The first grain elevator in the world was constructed and brought into use at Buffalo in 1843.

The so-called Patriot War in Canada was staged almost in sight of Buffalo and there was great danger that the two nations would become involved. William Lyon Mackenzie managed to reach Buffalo December 11, 1837, after one of the most thrilling escapes and he was warmly welcomed. Meetings were held, a recruiting campaign begun, and ninety-seven young men of Buffalo pledged their support and co-operation for the purpose of freeing Canada from English rule. Mackenzie and his forces seized Navy Island in the Niagara river and used it as the seat of their provisional government. They secured the "Caroline," a small boat of forty-six tons' capacity. On the night of December 29, 1837, the vessel flying the American flag was moored at Schlosser's Landing on the American side having on board thirty-three persons. At midnight a body of armed men from the Canada shore came in a boat, rushed on board, easily overcame the sleeping occupants, set fire to the "Caroline," and allowed her to drift over Niagara Falls. Twelve men were never heard of afterwards. The people of Western New York were horrified at the deed and within two days over two thousand men congregated

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in Buffalo ready to march against the English. The United States government sent General Winfield Scott to Buffalo and thru diplomatic means hostilities were averted.

On his way to be inaugurated the sixteenth President of the United States Abraham Lincoln reached Buffalo on Saturday, February 16, 1861. That afternoon he spoke to a vast throng of Buffalonians from the balcony of the American Hotel and in the evening held a reception. Little did he realize that among his hearers that winter day was a young man who was to command the Union forces in the impending conflict at the only battle of which the President was to be an eye witness, the Battle of Fort Stevens on July 12, 1864. That young man was Daniel Davidson Bidwell.

When he bid his neighbors at Springfield, Illinois, good-by on February 11, 1861, and reminding them that Springfield had been his home for a quarter of a century, Lincoln said: "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return." His words were prophetic for he never went back again to his beloved Springfield until an assassin's bullet caused his funeral cortege to return. So, too, when Daniel Davidson Bidwell on September 16, 1861, at the head of the Forty-ninth New York Volunteers left Buffalo, which had been his home not for a quarter of a century but for his whole lifetime, and excepting once when he came back to attend the funeral of his father, never returned alive to the city of his birth.

CHAPTER III

MILITIA

Chapter 15 of the laws of the colonial assembly of New York in 1691 reads: "Whereas the Frontiers att Albany is in Eminent danger to be lost being daily threatened to be invaded by the French Their Majesties declared Enemeyes," and said law provided for the raising and paying of sufficient men to defend the northern frontier of the colony.

The colony of New York during a large part of its history, was, in a broad sense an armed camp. This resulted partly from the exigencies of pioneer life which required eternal vigilance against the French and Indians, and partly from the laws enacted tho poorly enforced, which required every able-bodied man to arm himself at his own expense, and be ready, on short notice, to defend his home, the settlement, or the colony.

In the "Duke's Laws" promulgated on March 1, 1665, for the government of the colony of New York, there was a chapter on military affairs which required all men between sixteen and sixty to provide themselves with arms, accoutrements, and ammunition and to attend all prescribed military training and service. The militia law enacted in 1772 fixed the military age from sixteen to fifty, the law of 1786 changed the age from sixteen to forty-five and finally in 1792 the age was fixed at eighteen to forty-five.

From the time of the promulgation of the "Duke's Laws" in 1665, each town was required to have a general training day in September of each year, and according to the militia law adopted by the provincial assembly of New York in 1775 the men were allowed to elect their own officers. All persons of lawful age failing to attend the general training in September were subject to a fine.

On account of their religious convictions the Quakers refused to attend these general trainings and in consequence were fined. For their benefit chapter 247 of the laws of 1820 was enacted which read as follows:

"Members of any religious society, who shall, from scruples of conscience be averse to the bearing of arms, shall be and they are hereby excused in the time of peace from the performance of militia duty, and from the payment of all, or any commutation for the same."

The last year the Quakers were fined for non-attendance at general training the sum of \$1,618.47 was collected by the State as Quaker commutation.

With the Quakers excused from general training many others failed to attend and the authorities were lax in collecting the fines. In 1840 Governor William Henry Seward in his annual message to the Legislature spoke of the general training day as follows:

"It is manifest that the militia system has lost some of the popular respect with which it was once regarded * * * At present the rich and the fortunate evade in a great degree the performance of military duty, while its expenses and sacrifices fall

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without abatement upon those members of society who are least able to bear them.”

1860 was the last year commutation fines were collected and in that year the sum of \$33,621 was collected by the State from those failing to appear at the general training in September. Even in that year eleven counties of the State failed to collect any commutation fines at all. The Legislature of 1863 remitted the fine of one dollar for nonattendance at the general training in September 1862, and also provided that the annual general training in September 1863 should be dispensed with. No more general trainings were held in the State, but the system was not finally abolished by the Legislature until 1870.

H. Perry Smith in his “History of Buffalo and Erie County,” published in 1884, speaks of the general trainings of early days when all the rank and file wore their ordinary clothes, the officers alone being supplied with apparel more or less resembling the uniform prescribed by the regulations; and when some of the men carried rifles, others shotguns, others old muskets, while many by the indulgence of their officers went thru the drill with sticks or canes. Mr. Smith states that he saw a company drilling in 1846 where the captain ordered the few men who had firearms to lay them aside and get sticks, so that the company would be uniformly armed.

Frederick Townsend, Adjutant General of the State in 1882 spoke of these general trainings as a burlesque rabble and the following account taken from “The Albany Microscope” of September 11, 1830 amply corroborates him:

“According to the revised statutes the bloodless 89th regiment of infantry of the State of New York paraded for review and inspection on Monday last, ‘armed and equipped according to law,’ which means just as they have a mind to. To give a detail of the different kinds of uniform, of the superior execution of the various and complicated evolutions which were gone thru, especially the new and approved name of wheeling (by droves), and the soldier-like appearance of this redoubtable and unrivaled regiment we will not attempt, being satisfied that we are unequal to the task, and confident that we could not do it justice.

“The companies met in their respective beats at eight o’clock, and formed in line in State Street about half past nine, where they were kept standing, or sitting as they chose, until twelve, when they took up their line of march for Washington Square. Here the fun commenced. “Captain, here’s a fellow stepping on my heels behind!” “I say, corporal, tell the fellow with a paper hat and a red ribbon around it, to keep his bayonet out of my back!” “Silence in the ranks!” “Jo, twig that feller’s cap; it looks like a coal skuttle.” “Eyes right.” “They’re right on you, captain.” “Take that baked potato out of your mouth, you pea-coat chap!” “Throw us a hunk of that gingerbread, Jo.” “Left whe”—Here an old hat, thrown by some mischievous urchin, struck the captain smack in the face, and a loud laugh from his men followed. “I say, Bill, how tall do you think our captain is?” “About five feet and a chaw of tobacco.” “Silence, or I’ll have you put under guard

for disrespect," — "Don't blackguard the captain, boys, or he won't stand a treat when we dismiss." "Hello, sergeant, that fellow with striped trousers and cow-hide brogies on, has hooked my skin of whisky!" Thus they marched up the Square until they arrived at the parade ground. Here a line was again formed, and after having performed a few evolutions, in the usual style, they were dismissed for one hour, to discuss the merits of the eatables and drinkables, and to lose their change on the dice board. Great havoc was made among the pies, gingerbread, baked mutton, baked pork and beans, cold slaw, and such like delicacies! and the liquor suffered not slow. Several rows took place in the mean while, and 'banged peepers,' and bloody shirts could be discovered in every direction. Some fought for the reputation of the regiment, some for the 'chink' they had thrown away on the dice boards, and others took a few knock downs just for the fun of it. One was very justly taken into custody by J. O. Cole and sent to the 'County Hotel.' After eating, drinking and fighting for an hour and a half, the line was 'yet' again formed, and the most desperate efforts were made by the colonel, during the remainder of the afternoon to teach them how to march and countermarch, wheel, charge, retreat, etc., but all to no purpose. They would not be taught. Finding it useless, the colonel turned his horse towards home; and this bloodless and invincible regiment came 'back again' to town as they went out in the morning. The guard, as usual, was left behind, to take care of the powder house, we suppose. After marching thru the principal streets.

to show the officers to the girls, a crooked line was formed in Market Street, and the regiment dismissed; and thus ended the Annual Farce, by authority of the State.”

That this was not an isolated case the “Philadelphia Times” of June 19, 1830 describes in similar fashion a general training occurring in that city.

Many thoughtful people realized the utter worthlessness of the State’s ununiformed militia so poorly trained and there sprang up in many cities uniformed companies arising out of comrade association which had a continuous existence of a sort of quasi-corporate character being governed among themselves by a constitution and by-laws. In addition to the annual occasions when the multitude was under arms, these companies paraded separately, either as regiments or battalions or independently, on the Fourth of July, Washington’s Birthday, etc. To these organizations may be ascribed the origin of our present national guard.

The value of these uniformed companies were evidenced during the anti-rent troubles of the thirties and forties. The Albany Burgess Corps was organized in 1833. In 1839 it was sent to the Helderberg mountains to quell anti-rent riots there. In 1845 when the anti-renters were threatening to march on Hudson and burn the city the common council hastily appealed to the Albany Burgess Corps to come to their assistance. The Corps went to their relief and spent the winter of 1845-46 guarding the city.

On June 7, 1845 deputy sheriff Osman N. Steele of Delaware County was shot and killed in the Town

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of Andes by an armed band of anti-renters disguised as Indians, where with the sheriff and several others he had gone to the farm of Moses Earle to conduct a sale under distress of rent.

Governor Silas Wright proclaimed martial law in Delaware County stating that over one thousand men had taken the prescribed oath as Indians and in violation of law enacted that year to prevent persons appearing disguised and armed, were terrorizing the whole county. The Lafayette Horse Guards of New York City were sent to preserve order in Delaware County.

How uncertain a militia unit was, how hastily organized, and how soon it faded away, may be gathered from a statement of Samuel Blakeslee relative to his participation in the Battle of Black Rock, December 30, 1813. He states that he raised a company in the Town of Avon, then Ontario County, but now part of Livingston County. He was chosen the captain. When the alarm came from the Niagara frontier he with sixteen of his men started in a snow-storm for Buffalo and gave orders for volunteers to come on without description. Before he left Avon he was joined by Captain Tyler with sixteen men from Livonia. They marched on together as far as Batavia.

Blakeslee says: "I expected to act as captain, but on our arrival at Batavia the order was given that Colonel Blakeslee's men should be mustered, reviewed and armed. I had at this time but thirty-two men, including Captain Tyler's.

"At this time the road, the taverns, and the stores were crowded with a confused mass of people. A

thought struck me that it was possible that I might stick another military feather in my cap. I drew my sword and marched thru the streets of Batavia, with martial music, three times, crying out: 'Who volunteers with Colonel Blakeslee, a short tour to the westward, in defense of the just rights of our country.' Then I dressed my men on parade, and informed the inspector that myself and men were ready for inspection; and at the inspection I found that I had about two hundred and thirty men brave and gallant. Thus I became lieutenant colonel of the New York Volunteers.

"I took up my march for Buffalo, after receiving a few arms, and a little ammunition. I was informed that Captain Robert Mackay, who commanded a company of Scotch militia from the Town of Caledonia had requested of General Amos Hall to be annexed with his company to the Ontario volunteers. This aroused my military feelings, knowing him to be a brave Scotchman by birth, not wanting for courage, and knowing his company to be brave Scotchmen. I thought with this captain and men that I should not be afraid to speak with any enemy in the gates. Accordingly I pressed on my regiment as fast as was consistent until I had overtaken my brave Scotchman, about fifteen miles this side of Buffalo. Here he did me the honor of uniting himself and men to my regiment. We took up our march and arrived at Buffalo about sunset."

Two days later Colonel Blakeslee had ten companies under his command, and the following day, December 30th, was fighting. "Being overpowered by

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numbers and discipline," writes Colonel Blakeslee, "a retreat became necessary, which was made in much confusion." Next day he had no command for the following reason: "My men being scattered, most of them having gone home, I stayed at Eleven-mile Creek and had no command, altho there were a few men staying about there." On the next day Colonel Blakeslee set out for home alone.

It will thus be seen how difficult it was for military commanders to organize determined resistance with militia or short term volunteers. And during the War of 1812 Buffalo and Black Rock had to depend on just such troops. It is said that William Hodge, proprietor of the brick tavern on the hill, could not entertain the idea that over two thousand Americans were going to be defeated by one thousand English regulars at the Battle of Black Rock until he saw the militia fleeing in all directions.

And the realization of how unprotected and helpless they were on the exposed Niagara frontier came to many thoughtful Buffalonians during the excitement arising out of the so-called Patriot War in 1837 which was the occasion for the organization in their municipality of a uniformed company, called the City Guard. Other uniformed companies followed and in the course of a year they were organized as a regiment, all retaining the name of City Guard, with James McKay as colonel. Altho but eighteen years of age Daniel Davidson Bidwell was one of the original members of the City Guard.

The 65th regiment of infantry was organized in 1848 absorbing the City Guard and the German

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Battalion which had been formed in 1844. In January 1849 it was called to quell a riot on the Erie Canal and the disturbance was quelled only after a hard struggle between the troops and rioters.

H. Perry Smith in his "History of Buffalo and Erie County," says that the gallant General Daniel Davidson Bidwell was one of the organizers of the 65th regiment. He was a first lieutenant at the time of its organization in 1848. He soon after became captain of Company D. Withdrawing Company D from the 65th regiment, he reorganized it as an independent corps with a view of making it the nucleus of a new regimental organization. The new regiment, the 74th regiment of infantry, growing out of Captain Bidwell's Company D, came into existence in 1854. Josephus Nelson Larned in his address delivered at the dedication of the General Bidwell monument in Forest Lawn Cemetery in 1871 says that Captain Bidwell was offered the colonelcy of the regiment, but that he refused it. Larned says that Company D into which he had drawn the best young manhood of Buffalo had grown into his life and became part of himself. It was his pride, his pet, his military family, which he loved with fatherlike affection.

According to Larned no man in Buffalo during the twenty years prior to the Civil War did as much as Bidwell to cultivate, keep alive, and make contagious the spirit of those uniformed and well drilled organizations, without which the national government in 1861 could have summoned nothing better than a mob to meet the first onset of the Southern rebellion.

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While thoughtful Buffalonians in 1837 in organizing a uniformed company in their municipality, known as the City Guard, were thinking only of danger from the Canadian border, and their interest flagged as the years went by with continued peaceful relations with their neighbor on the North, there dwelt always in the mind of Daniel Davidson Bidwell the thought that danger was coming from another quarter and that apprehension was fully justified with the firing on the American flag at Fort Sumter on April 13, 1861.

In 1844 the United States government erected Fort Porter in Buffalo, but there has never been any occasion to put this citadel to warlike uses.

All male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, not enrolled in the national guard, are part of the reserve militia and can be drafted by the United States government in time of war. This reserve militia is sometimes spoken of as the people's army. In a democracy it does not seem appropriate to maintain a large standing army or have universal military service as has been the custom in most European countries. Citizens in arms, a term for our reserve militia, would seem well worded phraseology were it not that without adequate training such reserve militia is of but little worth. In the national guard, the members enlist for a certain period of time, and only those are recruited who have a liking for military tactics and drill. Thus picked men are obtained who can become teachers of others when the reserve militia is called out in time of war. This was the work Daniel Davidson Bidwell was doing for twenty years prior to the Civil War, training in

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Company D future teachers and leaders for the rude troops that were so hastily called into service during the dark days of the Civil War. And who can now measure the importance and magnitude of that service, which he did under the sneers of many who slightingly spoke of it as amateur soldiering and a waste of time.

CHAPTER IV

TROUBLOUS TIMES

The year 1848 which saw the organization in Buffalo of the 65th regiment of infantry also saw an epoch making event take place within its municipality and that was the Free Soil convention of that year which nominated Martin Van Buren for President of the United States.

The Free Soil platform adopted at Buffalo asserted the following: (1) That history shows "it was once the settled policy of the nation to discourage and not encourage slavery;" (2) that "we propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any state;" (3) that Congress should prohibit the extension of slavery into all free territory; (4) that "there must be no more compromises with slavery;" (5) that "we inscribe on our banner: Free soil, Free speech, Free labor, and Free men."

Concerning this Free Soil convention, Richard Henry Dana, one of the delegates at Buffalo, spoke later in Faneuil Hall, Boston, as follows:

"Our friends of the Taylor and Cass newspapers were particularly attentive to our interests. At first they sympathized with us and were afraid we should be disappointed, so few persons were coming to Buffalo. And then, when the streets of Buffalo were all but impassable, they said that such a vast mass could never be organized. They spoke of plots and bargains, and warned the Whigs against the Demo-

crats, and Democrats against the Whigs, and they warned us both against the Liberty party, and the Liberty party against both of us. But when we came to look one another in the face, to join councils together, all the apprehensions and suspicions vanished in a moment.

“This great Convention adjourned. But I should do injustice to the spirit that prevailed there, did I not tell you that every morning’s sun at Buffalo, as it rose, saw this vast assembly met for offices of prayer and praise. And when we adjourned on Thursday night, it was to meet again on Friday morning to unite in a common thanksgiving to the Disposer of all events, who had enabled us to come to this wise and harmonious conclusion. There is not a spot that the sun shines upon where these events could have happened but in the free states of North America; where so many thousand men, of different political parties, could have met in one place, organized a representative, deliberative assembly, remained in session three days, adopted a complete set of political principles, and their candidates, with entire unanimity, and dispersed without a single, unpleasant occurrence, and all without the aid of the slightest civil force. If there is a man who doubts the capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race of North America for self government, he should have been at Buffalo in 1848 and learned this lesson.

“When I say that all our proceedings were unanimous, I must allude to a dissatisfaction that existed in one quarter, I mean among the Taylor and Cass newspapers. They could not understand it! It was past all comprehension! All their hopes and our

apprehensions were falsified, and this incredible work was done before their eyes. As soon as they recovered from their surprise, they began to ask, —— What charm, what incantations, and what mighty magic, — what medicines potent o’er the blood, had brought us to this state? And they gathered up their suspicions and misgivings and put them in shape, entitling the compound ‘The way it was done.’ Now there was a secret about this business. It is this: There was a principle at the bottom of it. Nothing else could have insured this result, in the nature of things and the nature of men! This it is, that maketh men to be of one mind in an house!

“This vast assemblage of intelligent, earnest men has dispersed. Where are they now? They are beside our rock-bound or our sandy coast; along the hills and valleys, and in the cities and towns of New England. They are at the South, by the banks of the Potomac and the Shenandoah; in the cities and villages of the great West, beyond the falls of Saint Anthony and the Sault Sainte Marie. They are beside the domestic hearths and domestic altars of an American people. And with such advocates, such missionaries, such evangelists, sooner or later, we cannot but succeed.

“To have taken a part in such a convention, is something that a man may remember for life, and his children after him. If the Presidency were our ultimate object, he should see the expediency of a choice between two evils. But the Presidency is only one of the means to an end. The end we aim at is the ultimate success of the Free Soil system. To insure

this, we must have an organized demonstration of public sentiment, a means of systematic, continuous, certain, popular action. Never has there been a time, in the history of this country, when each man's vote will tell so much as now. Those who understand that president-making is the ultimate object of parties, think we are mad in voting for a third candidate; but those who see that the end is the ultimate success of a system, must see that we are taking the only course that leads to it. It is not for us who are putting on our harness to boast ourselves as those who put it off. We have a duty to perform. Success in this presidential campaign is not our motive. It is only one of our objects, one of the means to our end. When in what way we shall succeed, we cannot know now; but of this we feel assured — our cause is just — our union is perfect."

Many men then or afterwards prominent in the affairs of our country participated in the Free Soil convention at Buffalo in 1848 among whom were Charles Francis Adams, Salmon Portland Chase, Edwin McMasters Stanton, Samuel Jones Tilden, David Dudley Field, Preston King, Gerrit Smith, Charles Sumner, and Joshua Reed Giddings.

The Free Soil party of 1848 was the forerunner of the Republican party, whose slogan in 1856 was free soil, free speech, free men, and Fremont. One wonders why the Free Soil party of 1848 failed to become a permanent party while the Republican party organized a few years later with nearly the same platform and principles did become a permanent party.

How did Buffalonians of the middle of the nineteenth century view this Free Soil convention held in their midst? Daniel Davidson Bidwell was a young man at the time, twenty-nine years of age, and one wonders what were his feelings in regard to this convention. His cousin, Walter William Stannard, was first vice president of a great Free Soil meeting held in Buffalo, October 27, 1848.

According to Charles Francis Adams an abolitionist was looked upon as a sort of common enemy of mankind, and a Free Soiler was only a weak and illogical abolitionist.

The fugitive slave law enacted by Congress in 1850 denied the negro the right of trial by jury, commanded all people to aid in returning an escaped slave if their services were demanded by the officers, and fining and imprisoning any one helping the fugitive or hindering his arrest.

In a speech in the United Senate March 11, 1850 when this law was under debate William Henry Seward said: "The Constitution devotes the national domain to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare and to liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution."

Thus was enunciated the higher law doctrine, much discussed and debated in the succeeding ten years. No better definition of the higher law doctrine was ever given than the speech of Richard Henry Dana before United States Commissioner Hallett in Boston in February 1851 defending Charles G. Davis, who had been arrested charged with aiding and abetting

in the escape of a fugitive slave called Shadrach. Davis was discharged from custody.

Mr. Dana said in part as follows: "And I take it no citizen has the right forcibly to violate the law, unless he is prepared for revolution. I know that these nice metaphysical rays, as Burke says, piercing into the dense medium of common life, are refracted and distorted from their course. But an educated man, with a disciplined mind, knows that he has no right to encourage others to forcible resistance, unless he is ready to take the risks of bringing upon the community all the consequences of civil war. We talk about a higher law on the subject of resistance to the law. And there is a higher law. But what is it? It is the right to passive submission to penalties, or it is the active ultimate right of revolution. It is the right our fathers took to themselves, as an ultimate remedy for unsupportable evils. It means war and bloodshed. It is a case altogether out of law. I do not know a man educated to the law that knows any other ground."

From the above it would seem that civil war was being preached by the abolitionists of the North as well as by the secessionists of the South.

The phrase irrepressible conflict was coined by William Henry Seward in a speech at Rochester, New York, October 25, 1858 when he said: "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces." Irrepressible conflict was a term often used in the next few years. Abraham Lincoln repudiated the higher law doctrine in his celebrated telegram to

his campaign managers at the Republican national convention at Chicago in May 1860 wherein he said: "I believe in the irrepressible conflict. Take no stock in the higher law doctrine. Make no bargains."

Later during the presidential campaign of 1860 when the gravity of the situation revealed itself to the Republican leaders they tried to explain to the people that the irrepressible conflict did not mean a conflict of brute forces or civil war, but rather a conflict of ideas, a conflict of principles, a conflict between reason and prejudice, etc. William Henry Seward has long been dead, but one wonders what he had in mind when he first uttered the words irrepressible conflict.

To Daniel Davidson Bidwell and other sober minded people during these troublous times there often came the thought if there was not some way of escape from the irrepressible conflict and if not how best to be prepared when that irrepressible conflict should come. No wonder that Daniel Davidson Bidwell was neglecting his own private affairs to spend so much of his time drilling in Company D the best young manhood of Buffalo. And looking back now over more than half a century that time surely was well spent, for our country in its hour of need reaped the benefit not only of his own services but also that of scores of his pupils.

CHAPTER V

PRELUDE TO WAR

In Buffalo on July 10, 1856 there was organized the National Kansas Committee with Thaddeus Hyatt of New York City as president. This organization during its existence raised over \$100,000, sent many free state immigrants to Kansas, and in part financed the operations of John Brown in that sadly stricken territory. Among the speakers at this midsummer meeting in Buffalo sixty-nine years ago was Gerrit Smith, the noted abolitionist, who predicted civil war in the following words: "A death struggle between liberty and slavery in Kansas will be a death struggle between these powers in all the land." After the Civil War Gerrit Smith was one of the signers to the bail bond of Jefferson Davis to effect his release from confinement in Fortress Monroe. Who knows but what if he had lived and with the destruction of slavery the heart of John Brown would not have been softened and he, too, would have gladly extended his hand in helpfulness to our kin below the Mason and Dixon line.

This remarkable man was born at Torrington, Connecticut, on May 9, 1800, a descendant of Peter Brown, who came over with the historic party in 1620 in the "Mayflower." His own grandfather, bearing the same name as himself, died of disease in the Revolutionary service in 1776. Sometime before 1840

he determined to make war on slavery. In his youth he had once seen a slave boy of about his own age cruelly beaten with an iron fire shovel and that terrorism determined his abolition principles for life.

In 1846 on the anniversary of the West India emancipation, Gerrit Smith, who was a large land holder offered to give one hundred thousand acres of wild land in the Adirondack mountains in northern New York to such colored families, fugitive slaves, or others as would take them in small farms and work them. In 1848 Brown purchased a farm of Gerrit Smith and removed his family to North Elba hoping to be of service to the small colony of colored people who had settled there. Three years later he made a trip to Europe during which period he made a tour upon the continent inspecting all fortifications and especially all earth work forts which he could find with a view of applying the knowledge thus gained to such a mountain warfare in the United States.

The principle of letting the territories decide for themselves whether they wanted to come into the Union as free or slave states was adopted when President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska law on May 30, 1854. It seemed plausible, but what really happened in Kansas, where the system first came to trial, was civil war.

Major Jefferson Buford raised in Alabama and Georgia a military company of between four and five hundred armed men and marched with them to Kansas determined to make it a slave state.

United States Senator David Rice Atchison of Missouri was very active in inducing pro-slavery

people to settle in Kansas. Most of those coming over the border from Missouri acquired the name of border ruffians.

The case for the South was well stated by Warren Wilkes, who commanded in Kansas for a time an armed force of Carolinians and Georgians, in a letter to the "Charleston Mercury," of Charleston, South Carolina, in the spring of 1856 in which he said:

"By consent of parties, the present contest in Kansas is made the turning point in the destinies of slavery and abolitionism. If the South triumphs, abolitionism will be defeated and shorn of its power for all time. If she is defeated, abolitionism will grow more insolent and aggressive, until the utter ruin of the South is consummated. If the South secures Kansas, she will extend slavery into all territory south of the fortieth parallel of north latitude, to the Rio Grande; and this, of course will secure for her pent-up institution of slavery an ample outlet, and restore her power in Congress. If the North secures Kansas, the power of the South in Congress will be gradually diminished, and the slave population will become valueless. All depends upon the action of the present moment."

Success in Kansas at first rested with the pro-slavery people. Being nearer at hand they were the first to settle therein. In the summer of 1854 Missouri squatters began to post claims to border lands and warn away intending anti-slavery settlers. Leavenworth, Lecompton and Atchison were pro-slavery towns settled in 1854.

At the first election held in November 1854 for a

delegate to Congress some seventeen hundred armed Missourians invaded Kansas and stuffed the ballot boxes. At the election of a territorial legislature in March 1855 this intimidation and fraud was practiced on a much larger scale. When the resultant legislature met it adopted the laws of Missouri almost en bloc. It made it a felony to utter a word against slavery, made extreme pro-slavery views a qualification for office, declared death the penalty for aiding a slave to escape, and in general repudiated liberty for its opponents.

A proposed constitution adopted by a constitutional convention at Lecompton was submitted to the people for their approval in November 1857 with two alternatives. The people could vote for the constitution with slavery or vote for the constitution with no slavery. But as the proposed constitution legalized slavery, the free state people declared the referendum pure fraud and refused to vote. In February 1858 President James Buchanan urged the admission of Kansas into the Union as a slave state, declaring in his message to Congress that Kansas was just as much a slave state as South Carolina. Congress refused, however, to admit Kansas as a slave state, Stephen Arnold Douglas and others breaking away from their party and voting with the free state men. Thus Kansas became the storm center of national political passion.

If the free state people were later in arriving in Kansas they came in much larger numbers than the pro-slavery faction, and they were bona-fide settlers who tilled the soil and who were making Kansas their

permanent home. On the other hand the pro-slavery people were largely armed marauding bands who roamed over the territory, harassing the free state settlers, burning their buildings, trying to terrify them into leaving the territory, and also to deter others from coming in. Lawrence and Topeka were settled by the free state people. In May 1856 Lawrence was entered by an armed Missouri force led by Senator Atchison and its printing offices were destroyed, buildings were wrecked, and a general pillage of all kinds ensued. The free state people now began to arm themselves and henceforth there followed months of lawlessness and crime.

In 1855 John Brown arrived in Kansas. Having been a surveyor in his younger days, Brown under the assumed name of Shubel Morgan, surveyed thru the camp of Buford's armed followers, pretending he was surveying Indian lands. Thinking that anyone surveying Indian lands must be employed by the Pierce administration and therefore was pro-slavery in sentiment, they freely told him what they intended to do with old Brown when they caught him.

When the news reached Brown of the sacking of Lawrence in retaliation he took eight of his men to Dutch Henry's on the night of May 25, 1856 and deliberately assassinated five representatives of the pro-slavery party. Even his most devoted partisans do not attempt to justify this act. But Brown was a Cromwellian in spirit and he believed he was commissioned of God to wreak vengeance on the slavery party. Crime was rampant in Kansas at the time and two of the territorial governors, Andrew

Horatio Reeder and Wilson Shannon, were forced to flee the territory in fear of assassination by the pro-slavery party.

When Pedro Menendez de Aviles captured Fort Carolina on the Saint John's river in Florida and massacred two hundred and ninety-two French Huguenots in 1565, a gentleman of Gascony in France, Chevalier Dominic de Gourges, felt himself called upon to avenge the crime. He fitted out an expedition at his own expense and in 1567 sailed from Bordeaux, France. The next year he captured Fort Carolina and put to the sword all within, two hundred and sixty Spaniards.

On June 2, 1856 Brown with twenty-seven free staters fought a pitched battle upon the Kansas prairies with fifty-six pro-slavery men under Captain Henry Clay Pate of Virginia and utterly routed them. The name of Brown was feared in the whole territory and gradually the armed pro-slavery bands disintegrated and melted away as one by one the members returned to the South from whence they came. Some contend that Brown was more of an injury to the free state cause in Kansas than a help, while others hold that but for Brown's activities the marauding bands of pro-slaveryites would have so intimidated the free staters as to have harassed them out of the territory.

The war in Kansas made a deep impression upon the residents of nearby states such as Iowa, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Abraham Lincoln was very deeply impressed as is shown by the following letter to William Henry Seward dated February 1, 1861:

“* * * On the territorial question—that is, the question of extending slavery under the national auspices—I am inflexible; I am for no compromise which asserts or permits the extension of the institution on soil owned by the nation. And any trick, by which the nation is to acquire territory, and then allow some local authority to spread slavery over it, is as noxious as any other. I take it that to effect some such result as this, and to put us again on the high road to a slave empire, is the object of all those proposed compromises. I am against it. As to fugitive slaves, District of Columbia, slave trade among the slave States, and whatever springs of necessity from the fact that the institution is amongst us, I care but little; so much that what is done be comely, and not altogether outrageous. Nor do I care much about New Mexico, if further extensions were hedged against.”

The Peace Conference meeting at Washington during the winter of 1861 recommended a constitutional amendment making 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude the boundary line between the free states and the slave states. This was going back to the Missouri compromise of 1820 and making it the fundamental law of the land. In that Peace Conference of 1861 were many shades of opinion and some northern unionists were willing to concede almost anything for compromise. Congressman William Kellogg, a Republican member from Illinois, had visited Lincoln at Springfield and urged him to support such a constitutional amendment. In response to that interview Lincoln wrote the above mentioned letter to Seward.

Both to Kellogg and to Thurlow Weed, who visited Lincoln at Springfield, the President-elect is reported to have said that if the South could not extend slavery above the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, it would extend slavery further southward and embroil us in war with Spain over the acquisition of Cuba and get us into innumerable difficulties in Mexico and Central America.

What had so vividly impressed itself upon Lincoln's mind as the overmastering aggressiveness of slavery was the war in Kansas from 1854 to 1858. Looking back now after nearly three quarters of a century there is a consensus of opinion among historians that Lincoln was mistaken. No doubt no constitutional amendment or compromise of any kind would have brought back in 1861 the seceding states into the Union; but reverting to Kansas it is a fact that practically no slaveholders emigrated with their slaves into that territory. Why? Because it was not safe to risk going into Kansas with slaves worth from \$300 to \$1,000 apiece where there were so many "nigger stealers" who would gladly aid in effecting the escape of their slaves into Canada. On the night of December 20, 1858 John Brown and party crossed over into Missouri, captured eleven slaves, and in the dead of winter took them across Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan into Canada. Other free staters of Kansas, embittered by the civil war they had undergone in the last few years, were becoming "nigger stealers" also.

After the Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1857, which declared slaves to be only property and under the constitution their owners

could take them anywhere they pleased, and by which decision Abraham Lincoln thought Illinois was opened for an invasion of slaveholders with their slaves, yet no slaveholders took their slaves to Illinois for the reason that the risk was too great, surrounded on all sides by free staters who would gladly aid their slaves to escape into Canada. Slavery could only exist in sections altogether slave, far away from such harbors of refuge as Canada. Even if at President James Buchanan's recommendation in 1858 Congress had admitted Kansas into the Union as a slave state, the free state people in Kansas in 1858 far outnumbered the pro-slavery faction and in a very short space of time would have amended their state constitution and made of Kansas a free state.

John Brown's son, Frederick Brown, was murdered by the pro-slavery faction in Kansas, and his oldest son, John Brown Jr. was driven on foot at the head of a cavalry company, at a trot, for nine miles, his arms being tied behind him. After the "nigger stealing" raid into Missouri President James Buchanan offered a reward of \$250 for the arrest of John Brown and Governor Robert M. Stuart of Missouri offered a reward of \$3,000 for the capture of John Brown.

Brown's work in Kansas was now finished. He did not go to Kansas as other free staters had gone, to till the soil and become a permanent settler, but in his declared war on slavery he had gone there to fight. Attending in May 1859 the New England Anti Slavery convention in Boston he came away at its conclusion saying: "These men are all talk; what is

needed is action—action.” Thus he had but little patience with the abolitionists. He believed in fighting, not talking.

In May 1858 Brown held a little convention at Chatham, Canada, where was adopted his provisional constitution and ordinances for the people of the United States. He was not willing to commence his raid upon slavery without some formality. But his incursion into Virginia had to be postponed until another year as the Massachusetts State Kansas Committee had become alarmed at disclosures made by Hugh Forbes to prominent statesmen in Washington and deemed it best that Brown return again to Kansas. Brown had in his possession two hundred rifles which had been purchased by the Kansas Committee. United States Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts warned the Kansas Committee to get these arms out of Brown’s control. It is impossible to state just how much of his plans he divulged to the officers of the Kansas Committee. They had faith in his motives and did not question his judgment or seek to learn the details of his movements. Begging money for the cause Brown obtained \$700 from Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York, and \$1,200 from George Luther Stearns of Boston.

In June 1859 Brown and several of his men appeared in the vicinity of Harpers Ferry where they hired the Booth Kennedy farm and he went under the assumed name of Isaac Smith. Here they gradually received from Ohio their boxes of rifles and pistols, besides one thousand pikes from Connecticut. Slowly recruits came in and at last on the night of October

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16, 1859 he marched his company of twenty-one men to the armory, took a number of citizens prisoners, and seized the railroad bridge. He might now have retraced his steps and retired to the Kennedy farm, but his hopes were sanguine and he fancied that the slaves would rise enmasse and thus their freedom would be effected. In this he was terribly deceived. The slaves did not rise. Virginia and Maryland militia soon arrived and escape was impossible. With these militia units, strong on paper but weak in active operation, desultory fighting was kept up all day in which two of his sons, Owen Brown and Watson Brown, were killed. Not until United States regulars under Colonel Robert Edward Lee arrived was he overpowered and captured. Brown was severely wounded altho his conduct was heroic in the extreme.

Taken to Charlestown, his trial was short and on October 31st he was found guilty and sentenced to death. His execution took place December 2d. There were rumors of a plot to rescue him and the Virginia authorities had fifteen hundred soldiers present at the execution. The soldiers marched, counter marched and took position as if an enemy were in sight, and were thus occupied for ten minutes, Brown standing all the time upon the scaffold with his arms pinioned behind him, the cap over his face, and the rope around his neck. Capain John Avis, the jailer, inquired if he was not tired. Brown said, "No, not tired; but don't keep me waiting longer than necessary." These were his last words.

Among the spectators at that hanging sixty-six years ago were Robert Edward Lee and Thomas

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Jonathan Jackson, afterwards famous chieftains in the Confederate cause.

When they realized that this had been a drama with the whole nation as an audience, there was something akin to trepidation among the self-appointed committee which had made John Brown's raid possible. Its members were plainly unaware that to support a forcible attack on slavery they incurred grave personal danger. Few of them had believed Brown's plans feasible and none of them had apparently asked themselves how far they would be compromised in the eyes of the law when John Brown failed. Frederick Douglass, the colored leader, left Rochester, New York, October 19th, first going to Canada and then to England. Frank B. Sanborn left Concord, Massachusetts, for Canada on October 20th, and five days later George Luther Stearns and Samuel G. Howe went to Canada from Boston. Thaddeus Hyatt, the president of the National Kansas Committee, suffered a three months' imprisonment in the jail of the District of Columbia for refusal to testify before a Senate investigating committee.

So-called Union meetings were held in many northern cities denouncing the John Brown raid. On December 8th Faneuil Hall, Boston, was filled to overflowing with six thousand persons. Ex-Governor Levi Lincoln presided, assisted by Ex-Governors Marcus Morton, George Nixon Briggs, and John Henry Clifford. A letter was read from Ex-President Franklin Pierce. The two principal speakers were Caleb Cushing, Attorney General in President Franklin Pierce's cabinet; and Edward Everett,

Massachusetts' distinguished author, orator, congressman, governor, and United States senator, who could not see that the only way out was thru Antietam and Gettysburg.

The same day a so-called Union meeting was held in Philadelphia presided over by Joseph Reed Ingersoll, former United States minister to England.

The one held in New York City December 19th was characterized by the "New York Journal of Commerce" as "the largest public meeting ever held in the city of New York or on the American continent which took place in and about the Academy of Music." Mayor Daniel F. Tiemann of New York City presided, and letters were read from General Winfield Scott and from Ex-Presidents Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore and Franklin Pierce. Among the speakers were Ex-Governor Washington Hunt, John Adams Dix and Charles O'Connor. The following resolutions were adopted:

"That we protest against and denounce as contrary to the plighted faith on which the Constitution was established, all acts or inflammatory appeals, which intend or tend to make this Union less perfect, or to jeopard, or disturb its domestic tranquility, or to mar the spirit of harmony, compromise, and concession, upon which the Union was formed by our Fathers, whose records we have cited, and whose legacies we have, in these compacts, laws and adjudications.

"That we regard the recent outrage at Harpers Ferry as a crime, not only against the State of Virginia, but against the Union itself; and we approve

of the firmness by which the treason has been duly punished.

“That in our opinion the subject of Slavery has been too long mingled with party politics, and as a result has been the creation of sectional parties, contrary to the advice, letter and spirit of the Farewell Address of the Father of our common country,—that, therefore, it is the duty of planters, farmers, manufacturers, merchants, mechanics, and of every citizen, North and South, East and West, to discountenance all parties and organizations that thus violate the Spirit of the Constitution and the advice of Washington.”

Charles O'Connor, the celebrated lawyer and one of the speakers at the Academy of Music meeting, was thirteen years later nominated for president of the United States at the Louisville convention in 1872 by that branch of the Democratic party which refused to support Horace Greeley. In his Academy of Music speech he said:

“I maintain that Negro Slavery is not unjust, that it is benign in its influence on the white man and on the black, that it is ordained by nature, that it is a necessity created by nature itself, that it carries with it duties for the black man, and duties for the white man, which duties cannot be performed except by the preservation and, if the gentlemen please, perpetuation of the system.”

Horace Greeley quite severely criticised this speech of Mr. O'Connor and in response he wrote the following letter to the “New York Tribune”:

“You will all admit that within certain limits, at

least, our Constitution does contain positive guarantees for the preservation of Negro Slavery in the old States thru all time, unless the local Legislatures shall think fit to abolish it. And, consequently, if Negro Slavery, however humanely administered or judiciously regulated, be an institution which conflicts with natural justice and with God's laws, surely the most vehement and extreme admirers of John Brown's sentiments are right; and their denunciation against the Constitution, and against the most hallowed names connected with it, are perfectly justifiable

“ The friends of truth — the patriotic Americans who would sustain their country's honor against foreign rivalry, and defend their country's interests against all assailants, err greatly when they contend with these men on any point but one. Their general principles cannot be refuted; their logic is irresistible; their error, if there be, is in their premises. They assert that Negro Slavery is unjust. This, and this alone, of all they say is capable of being fairly argued against.

“ If this proposition cannot be refuted, our Union cannot endure, and it ought not to endure.”

The Albany meeting was held January 12, 1860 in the State capitol and was presided over by Gerrit Yates Lansing. Letters were read from Ex-President Martin Van Buren, Ex-Governor Washington Hunt, Daniel Stevens Dickinson, and John Adams Dix. The speakers were Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour and Henry Jarvis Raymond.

It is fitting to close this chapter with the wonderful oration of Wendell Phillips delivered at the open

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grave of John Brown during his funeral at North Elba in the Adirondacks:

“How feeble words seem here! How can I hope to utter what your hearts are full of! I fear to disturb the harmony which his life breathes round this home. One and another of you, his neighbors, say, ‘I have known him five years,’ ‘I have known him ten years.’ It seems to me as if we had none of us known him. How our admiring, loving wonder has grown, day by day, as he has unfolded trait after trait of earnest, brave, tender Christian life! We see him walking with radiant, serene face to the scaffold, and think what an iron heart, what devoted faith! We take up his letters beginning ‘My dear wife and children, every one,’—see him stoop on the way to the scaffold and kiss that negro child—and this iron heart seems all tenderness. Marvelous old man! We hardly said it when the loved forms of his sons, in the bloom of young devotion, encircle him, and we remember he is not alone, only the majestic center of a group. Your neighbor farmer went, surrounded by his household, to tell the slaves there will still be hearts and right arms ready and nerved for the service. From this roof four, from a neighboring roof two, to make up that score of heroes. How resolutely each looked into the face of Virginia, how loyally each stood at his forlorn post, meeting death cheerfully, till the master voice said, ‘It is enough.’ And these weeping children and widow see so lifted up and consecrated by long, single-hearted devotion to his great purpose that we dare, even at this moment, to remind them how blessed they are in the privilege of

thinking that in the last throbs of these brave young hearts, which lie buried on the banks of the Shenandoah, thoughts of them mingled with love to God and hope for the slave.

“ He has abolished slavery in Virginia. You may say this is too much. Our neighbors are the last men we know. The hours that pass us are the ones we appreciate least. Men walked Boston streets when night fell on Bunker’s Hill, and pitied Warren, saying, ‘ foolish man! Threw away his life. Why didn’t he measure his means better?’

“ Now we see him standing colossal on that blood-stained sod, and severing that day the tie which bound Boston to Great Britain. That night George III ceased to rule in New England. History will date Virginia Emancipation from Harpers Ferry. True, the slave is still there. So, when the tempest uproots a pine on your hills, it looks green for months — a year or two. Still it is timber, not a tree. John Brown has loosened the roots of the slavery system; it only breathes—it does not live.”

CHAPTER VI

CIVIL WAR AT LAST

The civil war in Kansas was over, but when the American flag was fired upon at Fort Sumter on April 13, 1861 a civil war was started which involved all the thirty-four states of the Union. Two days later President Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation in which he thought fit to call forth the militia of the several states to the number of 75,000 men for three months' duration to suppress an insurrection. Congress was to meet in special session on July 4th. The historian John Formly states that Lincoln's call for men for three months was almost childish in the face of General Winfield Scott's strong warnings. It would soon be seen that this was no thirty days' insurrection which would collapse of itself.

All companies of the 74th regiment met at the arsenal in Buffalo on Friday afternoon May 3, 1861 and were addressed by their colonel, Watson A. Fox, by Captain Daniel Davidson Bidwell, Captain William Findlay Rogers and others. The opinion of the speakers was that the government ought to accept the services of the regiment as a whole with their present organization, rather than have the regimental organization broken up and practically disbanded forcing the members of the regiment to volunteer as individuals. It was decided to maintain and perfect the organization trusting to the government for future

service. The government would soon need an army of longer than three months' enlistments.

For several weeks there had been enlistments of minute men in Buffalo, a roll having been kept at the old court house for signatures. One hundred and two persons had signed their names to the roll on the 15th of April when news first came of the hauling down of the American flag and the evacuation of Fort Sumter by Major Robert Anderson. Three days later a meeting of those who had enrolled their names was held and they were organized into the first volunteer company of Erie County. Recruiting was going on in the towns thruout the county and just as soon as sufficient numbers were obtained they were organized into companies. By the fore part of May ten companies had been organized and sent to Elmira which was the rendezvous for Western New York volunteers. Here the ten companies became the 21st Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, the men electing their line officers and then the line officers choosing the field officers. This was the first regiment sent to the front from Buffalo and Erie County.

Comparing the United States of America and the Confederate States of America in the organization of their armies for the impending conflict it will be seen that the latter used better judgment in selecting their officers than the former. Abraham Lincoln was a man of no military training or experience, while Jefferson Davis was a graduate of the United States military academy at West Point, he had distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista in the Mexican War, and he had been Secretary of War in President

Franklin Pierce's cabinet. Thus Davis' army list was certain to be made out intelligently, and he had a choice of excellent officers from among whom to select his ranking officers as so many of the army's best officers went with the South.

In the organization of the Union armies many civilians without any military training or experience received high commands, in two cases becoming major generals. Instances are known where men who had never seen a guard mount became colonels of regiments. Ulysses Simpson Grant had extreme difficulty in obtaining a command. He was a graduate of the United States military academy at West Point and had risen to a captaincy in the Mexican War. At the outbreak of war he wrote to the national government at Washington offering his services to the government, but he never received an answer to his letter. Finally thru the exertions of Congressman Elihu Washburn of Illinois he secured from Governor Richard Yates the appointment as colonel of 21st Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

The Confederate government had also the wisdom to make use of the entire machinery which a complete organization of an army so admirably affords; there were officers of the full rank of generals to command their armies,—there were lieutenant generals to command their army corps,—major generals to command their divisions, and brigadier generals to command their brigades. In their service, therefore, there was rarely any need of ever assigning an officer to duty above that properly pertaining to his nominal rank, and, what was more important than this, the manifest

propriety of basing distinctions of rank upon extent of command was recognized as it always ought to be. In the Union army, on the other hand, major generals commanded armies, army corps, or divisions, indifferently, according to circumstances, to the manifest loss of esprit des corps and the general detriment of the service. Not until 1866, after the Civil War was over, was the full grade of general created.

After the Battle of Fredericksburg Major General Ambrose Everett Burnside, commanding the Army of the Potomac, complained to Washington of the lack of support from the officers under him, and these officers, holding the same rank of major general as Burnside, signed a round robin complaining to Washington of their commander's inefficiency. How touching was Lincoln's letter to Major General Joseph Hooker on January 26, 1863, when he appointed him commander of the Army of the Potomac, in stating that altho Hooker had freely criticised the army's previous commander and had withheld his confidence from him, he hoped Hooker would have the full support of the officers under him. At the Battle of Gettysburg George Gordon Meade had only three days before been commander of the Fifth Army Corps, and in this battle all of his corps commanders held the same rank of major general as himself.

In the North there was little enthusiastic sentiment for a military life. The people of this section were busy, pre-occupied, full of schemes for the development of the country and for the acquisition of private fortune. Being contented in their manifold industries, they detested equally the wastefulness and the cruel

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sacrifices inseparable from fighting. The poetry of war did not enter the mind of the Northern volunteer. When he decided to enlist his course was determined wholly by a sense of duty.

In the South there were many excellent military academies and the population, almost wholly occupied in agricultural pursuits, was necessarily accustomed to life in the open air, to horses, to hunting, to exposure, to unusual physical exertion from time to time, which condition of life naturally fostered a martial spirit. The aristocratic regime of the slave holding states was conducive to a preference for military pursuits over civil pursuits. The young men of the better classes eagerly embraced the profession of arms as offering the best opportunities for attaining distinction in the State. Such young men made excellent officers, while those below them in the social scale, sharing largely in the same feelings and possessed by the same ideas of life and duty, made admirable private soldiers and warrant officers. Endowed with a marvelous capacity of endurance, whether of physical exertion or of lack of food, the soldiers of the South were first-rate material in the hands of the able officers who so generally commanded them. They loved fighting for its own sake, and no more willing troops ever responded to the call of their leaders. Their knowledge of woodcraft often gave them a decided advantage over the numerous townbred soldiers of the Union armies.

The Northern soldier did not take so much interest in the game. He went into camp, he drilled, he marched, he fought, without a thought of saving

himself either labor or danger; but it was all weary work to him — distasteful. His devotion to his country was as deep and strong and unreserved as was that of his Southern opponent, and he was just as brave, as patient, as unfaltering, and as persistent as any soldier from below the Mason and Dixon line, but in his judgment the whole thing was unbefitting a country so far advanced in civilization as the United States.

Hence it cannot be doubted that the Southern volunteers frequently scored successes over their Northern adversaries for the simple reason that to them the game of war was one of the noblest that could claim the devotion of brave men. Taking all these things together it was plain enough that the task of subjugating the South was going to be one of great difficulty, even tho the resources of the North were so much superior to those of the South. The government at Washington would soon have to enlist men for a longer period than three months' duration.

The military plan of the North was first, to use the sea power of the nation to isolate the South, and then, in conjunction with the army, to work up and down the Mississippi river and cut the Confederacy in two.

The South had several courses open to them in the war.

First: To try to win their independence directly by force of arms. This would have to be done very soon if at all.

Second: To tire the North out, for the North, being much more democratic in their government, was much

more susceptible to popular feeling. From 1863 on there was a feeling of war weariness and if the conflict had been protracted for another year or if Lee had won a great victory in 1864, they might have let the South go.

Third: To win recognition from foreign powers so as to form alliances which could be used to secure the co-operation of a naval force to break the blockade and let in supplies, or even allied troops.

The "History of Federal Government from the Foundation of the Achaian League to the Disruption of the United States," by Edward Augustus Freeman, published in England in 1863, predicted that before 1869 the United States of America and the Confederate States of America would have exchanged ambassadors. In this book the statement is made that an American state can secede, if it pleases. Freeman also says: "There is an inconsistency in retaining members against their will. What is to be done with them when they are conquered? They can hardly be made subjects of the other States; are they then to be compelled at the point of the bayonet to recognize their conquerors as brethren, and to send, under the penalties of treason, unwilling senators and representatives to Washington?"

On October 30, 1862 Napoleon III. Emperor of France, instructed the French ambassadors to Great Britain and to Russia to invite those powers to join France in requesting the United States of America and the Confederate States of America to agree to an armistice of six months so as to come to some plan for bringing the war to an end. Both Great Britain and

Russia refused to take any such action, and later thru Henri Mercier, the French minister to the United States, Napoleon III expressed his willingness to act as mediator when the time came for the inevitable separation between North and South.

When the break finally came many Southerners had a hard and painful time to decide whether to go with their native state or to be true to the Union. General Winfield Scott and General George Henry Thomas, natives of Virginia, and Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, native of Tennessee, were examples of those who considered the United States their country.

On April 17, 1861, the Virginia convention adopted an ordinance of secession. For three days Robert Edward Lee sat in his home at Arlington debating in his own mind what he should do. His three sons had already joined the Confederacy. After three days of struggle he resigned his commission in the United States army. His only authenticated expression of opinion on the subject of secession is in the following from a letter he wrote to his sister at the time of his resignation.

“We are now in a state of war which will yield to nothing. The whole South is in a state of revolution, into which Virginia, after a long struggle, has been drawn; and tho I recognize no necessity for this state of things, and would have forborne and pleaded to the end for redress of grievances, real or supposed, yet in my own person I had to meet the question whether I should take part against my native state. With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty

and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the army, and serve in defence of my native state—with the sincere hope that my poor services may never be needed—I hope I may never be called upon to draw the sword.”

General Jubal Anderson Early was one of the strong Union leaders in the Virginia convention. When on April 17, 1861, the convention by a vote of 88 to 55 adopted an ordinance of secession he voted in the negative. The convention passed a resolution providing that an address to the people of Virginia should be drawn up setting forth the reasons why they should ratify by their votes at the referendum to be held on May 23d the ordinance of secession. Early gathered around him a few remnants of the old Union party and fought desperately to have the resolution tabled, urging that it was not proper for the convention to presume to tell the people how they should act. This failing, he made a motion that the soldiers in camp should not be permitted to vote.

Soon, too, Early like Lee had to meet the question whether he should take part against his native state. When the news had come of the bombardment of Fort Sumter how touching had been his appeal to the convention in which he said he had never expected to see the day when Virginians would rejoice at hearing that their country's flag had been fired upon. In a short space of time this graduate of the United States military academy at West Point and veteran of the Mexican War was fighting in the Confederate ranks.

General James Ewell Brown Stuart, was another Union man of Virginia, a graduate of the United States military academy at West Point and a veteran of the Mexican War, who with a wrench cast in his lot with the Confederacy and lost his life fighting her battles.

Perhaps of all, the case of John Bell of Tennessee was the most pitiable. In 1860 he was the candidate of the Constitutional Union party for President of the United States and carried three states: Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. This party opposed sectionalism and strove to prevent the disruption of the Union. The party adopted no platform and discarded all other issues resolved that "it is both the part of patriotism and of duty to recognize no political principle other than the constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws." Yet less than a year later John Bell was unable to resist secession in Tennessee and in a speech at Nashville April 23, 1861, he favored standing by the Southern states.

It is easy enough now for us over sixty years later to condemn those who fought or in any way aided to destroy the Union from 1861 to 1865, but little do we realize how hard it was for many at that time to make their decision. For years William Lloyd Garrison's anti-slavery paper, "The Liberator," had carried in a conspicuous place in the upper right hand corner of the front page the words: "No Union with slaveholders. The United States Constitution is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." At various

times this anti-slavery paper had advocated a Northern republic.

When the irrepressible conflict was over no man accepted the result more nobly than Robert Edward Lee and he instantly adapted himself to new circumstances and began to work as a loyal and devoted citizen. The importance of his influence over his old soldiers and over every Southern man and woman cannot be exaggerated. When he said that the career of the Confederacy was ended; that the hope of an independent government must be abandoned; and that now it was the duty of all to render a new and cheerful allegiance to a reunited government; he showed forth his grand character.

The South in justifying secession in 1861 claimed that at the time of the adoption of the United States Constitution in 1788 there were thirteen sovereign states who entered into a league or partnership or compact and that any one of these sovereign states could retire or secede from the partnership whenever they saw fit. This was the logic they used. It is interesting to note that they did not use the words sovereign nations but instead employed the term sovereign states.

Abraham Lincoln in his first inaugural address March 4, 1861, states that our Union antedates the adoption of the Constitution, that it goes back to 1774, two years before the Declaration of Independence. If the Articles of Association in 1774 was when our Union was formed, how then can it be said that thirteen sovereign states entered into a Union, for there were no sovereign states in 1774, but instead thirteen

English colonies. And the preamble to the United States Constitution states that the object for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was "to form a more perfect Union." Surely then there must have been a Union before the adoption of the Constitution.

Lincoln's logic is also corroborated by Alexander Hamilton Stephens, the Vice President of the Confederate States, in his book, "The War Between the States," written long after Lincoln had gone to the "Great Beyond," in which he says: "The first Union, so formed, from which the present Union arose, was that of the Colonies in 1774."

The title to this chapter is Civil War at Last and one can not but feel what a tragedy it all was.

CHAPTER VII

FORMATION OF THE 49TH NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS

In his message to Congress July 4, 1861, President Lincoln recommended that the military forces of the United States be increased to 400,000 men to be enlisted for three years or the duration of the war. One reason why the Union army under General Irwin McDowell was defeated July 21, 1861, at Bull Run, was that General Robert Patterson in the Shenandoah Valley was unable to come to his assistance on account of the loss of men from the termination of their three months' service.

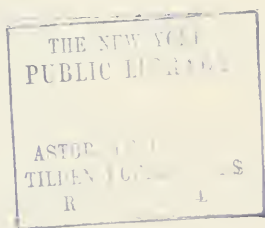
On July 30, 1861, at the request of the President of the United States, Edwin Dennison Morgan, Governor of the State of New York, issued his proclamation for the recruiting of twenty-five regiments of infantry of not more than one thousand men each.

The next day the Union Defence Committee of the city of Buffalo consisting of the patriotic citizens of that city, represented by Mayor Franklin A. Alberger, James Adams, Isaac Holloway and other prominent citizens, procured authority from the Governor of the State to recruit a regiment for immediate service.

Temporary headquarters were established at James Adams and Company's store on Washington Street, and Daniel Davidson Bidwell was requested to superintend the formation of the regiment. The



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tacit understanding was that he was to be colonel of the regiment when it was organized. There was a feeling in Buffalo that he should have been colonel of the first regiment which left the city, but this regiment had been enlisted for only three months' service afterwards extended to two years' service, and was mustered out in 1863. Buffalo's second regiment was to be recruited for three years' service or the duration of the war.

Active recruiting for the new regiment began at once. Permission was obtained from the War Department at Washington to use the grounds and buildings of Fort Porter as headquarters. Seventeen years before this citadel had been constructed by the United States government to protect the Queen City of the Lakes from a Canadian invasion, but it was now being put to its first practical use. Barracks and other buildings were erected, tents put up, and the long deserted and neglected place assumed a military aspect, visited by many citizens and friends of volunteers already there, and by many men coming in and voluntarily offering their services.

Nine companies were recruited, principally in the following counties: Companies A, G, I and K in Chautauqua county; Companies B, D, E and F in Erie county; and Company H in Niagara county.

By the 23d of August one company from Chautauqua county under command of Captain Jeremiah Clinton Drake, had arrived. Captain John F. E. Plogstead had a goodly number in camp. Haines, Selkirk, Tillinghast, Bullymore and others were actively at work. Clothing had been received and

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issued. Drilling was commenced and guards mounted. Captain Reuben E. Heacock's company, which had been sent to the Elmira rendezvous, had returned. Before the end of August much progress had been made toward the filling of the regiment.

On the 16th of September orders were received to report at the Park Barracks in New York City, and on the 16th the regiment left Fort Porter, escorted by all the military organizations then existing in Erie county, one company from Chautauqua county, and the Union Continentals, composed of old and prominent citizens of Buffalo under the command of Ex-President Millard Fillmore. Thousands of people lined the streets. Shouts, cheers, and the sweet sound of children's voices singing patriotic songs greeted them as they passed with difficulty thru the crowded streets, and many were the prayers and good wishes that followed them.

The journey to New York was over the Erie Railroad, and as the train was long and heavy and the rails slippery with rain, the regiment was on the road until the morning of the 18th. During the trip they were the recipients of many and cordial greetings, and in New York from the ferry landing to the Park Barracks (where the Post Office now stands) much praise was given to the command for its sturdy and military appearance. At this place Company C from Westchester county, known as the Fremont Rifles, was added.

Special Orders Number 397, Adjutant General Orders, State of New York, September 18, 1861, accepted and numbered the regiment, the 49th New

York Volunteers. On that day it was mustered into the United States service. The State of New York issued to it 846 Harpers Ferry smooth bore muskets, model 1842, caliber 69, which had been altered from flint locks to percussion locks; 15,000 buck and ball cartridges; 25,000 percussion caps; one hundred common and eighteen wall tents.

Governor Morgan, on behalf of the State, presented the regiment, before its departure for the seat of war, with a national flag made of bunting.

Inspired by Mrs. Abbey P. Heacock, the mother of Captain Reuben E. Heacock of Company E, nineteen ladies of Buffalo, met at one another's homes and prepared for the regiment a beautiful silk flag which had the name of the regiment gorgeously blazoned on its expanse. The names of the other eighteen ladies were Mrs. Jane Harvey Bidwell, the mother of Daniel Davidson Bidwell; Mrs. Esther P. Fox, Mrs. Parnell St. John Sidway, Mrs. Katherine C. Warner, Mrs. Sarah M. Davidson, Mrs. Beulah G. Smith, Mrs. William Hodge, Miss Sarah Hodge, Mrs. Orlando Allen, Mrs. Walter William Stannard, Mrs. Louisa C. Weed, Mrs. Sarah M. Judson, Mrs. Sophia Pratt, Mrs. Fannie A. Lay, Mrs. Sarah T. Coburn, Mrs. Sarah D. Gilbert, Mrs. Mary P. Burt, and Mrs. Miles Jones.

This silk flag was presented to the regiment on June 16, 1862, when it was encamped at Camp Lincoln on the right bank of the Chickahominy river in front of the church spires of Richmond. The command formed in hollow square and in the presence of General John Wynn Davidson and staff Colonel Bidwell

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presented the colors to the regiment with appropriate remarks.

The silk flag was carried in the following engagements: Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Marye's Heights, Salem Church, Gettysburg, Fairfield, Funckstown, Rappahannock Station, Mine Run, Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Gurley House, Fort Stevens and Charlestown.

On September 17, 1864, when eighty-nine veterans whose term of enlistment had expired and they were about to return to Buffalo, Colonel Erastus D. Holt placed the tattered and bullet-holed silk flag in the custody of Sergeant Sumner Alonzo Smith with instructions to return it to the patriotic ladies of Buffalo, stating that it had done its duty and was now to go back to those who had remembered the boys in this cynosure of soldierly pride and ambition.

The bunting flag was carried in the following engagements: Lewinsville, Watts Creek, Young's Mills, Mechanicville and Golding's Farm. It was laid aside when the beautiful silk banner arrived and was not used again until the silk flag had been practically shot to pieces. Then the bunting flag was again unfurled and was carried in these engagements: Opequon, Fisher's Hill, Cedar Creek and at the fall of Petersburg. The 49th also carried it at the historic event at Appomattox Court House April 9, 1861. On October 5, 1865 the colors of the 49th New York Volunteers were deposited in the flag room of the State Capitol at Albany.

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The regiment numbered nearly nine hundred men and officers and was officered as follows:

Field and Staff

Colonel — Daniel Davidson Bidwell.

Lieutenant Colonel — William Clendenin Alberger.

Major — George Washington Johnson.

Surgeon — James A. Hall.

Assistant Surgeon — William Warren Potter.

Adjutant — William Bullymore.

Quartermaster — Henry D. Tillinghast.

Company A — Recruited at Fredonia

Captain — Henry N. Marsh.

First Lieutenant — Philip S. Cottle.

Second Lieutenant — Thomas Cluny.

Company B — Recruited at Buffalo.

Captain — John F. E. Plogstead.

First Lieutenant — Frederic Van Gayl.

Second Lieutenant — William Weurz.

Company C — Recruited at Portchester.

Captain — Charles N. Palmer.

First Lieutenant — Gilbert J. Greene.

Second Lieutenant — William Theodore Wiggins.

Company D — Recruited at Buffalo.

Captain — William F. Wheeler.

First Lieutenant — George Holden Selkirk.

Second Lieutenant — Peter A. Taylor.

Company E — Recruited at Buffalo.

Captain — Reuben E. Heacock.

First Lieutenant — George W. Gilman.

Second Lieutenant — William Ellis.

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Company F — Recruited at Buffalo.

Captain — Erasmus W. Haines.

First Lieutenant — William Bullymore.

Second Lieutenant — Charles Howell Bidwell.

Company G — Recruited at Westfield.

Captain — Jeremiah Clinton Drake.

First Lieutenant — Phineas Stevens.

Second Lieutenant — Justin G. Thompson.

Company H — Recruited at Lockport

Captain — Charles H. Moss.

First Lieutenant — Andrew W. Brazee.

Second Lieutenant — Henry D. Hall.

Company I — Recruited at Forestville.

Captain — Raselas Dickinson.

First Lieutenant — Erastus D. Holt.

Second Lieutenant — James A. Boyde.

Company K — Recruited at Jamestown.

Captain — Alonzo J. Marsh.

First Lieutenant — Andrew J. Bowen.

Second Lieutenant — Elial Foote Carpenter.

The 49th New York Volunteers suffered a severe and unusual loss in the number of its field officers killed in action: General Bidwell at Cedar Creek, Major Ellis at Spottsylvania Court House, Lieutenant Colonel Johnson at Fort Stevens, Colonel Holt at the fall of Petersburg, Captain Heacock at Spottsylvania Court House and Captain Plogstead at the Wilderness.

The regiment participated in fifty-four skirmishes and engagements. Its greatest losses during the war occurred at the Battle of Spottsylvania Court House where it lost 45.9 per cent of the number engaged; and at the Battle of the Wilderness, where it lost 20.5 per cent of the number engaged. But two regiments in the regular army, the 14th and 18th, exceeded this regiment in its loss of killed and died of wounds. Twenty-four of its number died in Andersonville and other Confederate prisons.

Saturday evening, September 21st, the regiment started from New York for the seat of war. After an all night ride of ninety miles Philadelphia was reached Sunday morning at four o'clock, and it marched to the Old Cooper Shop, where a splendid breakfast was served by the patriotic ladies of the Quaker City. Baltimore was reached at three P. M. and the regiment marched across the city from one depot to the other. Having in mind the reception given the 6th Massachusetts Volunteers when that regiment passed thru Baltimore in April previous, Colonel Bidwell ordered the men to load their muskets before leaving the cars. The regiment was not molested, but from the looks of the people who lined the streets the men felt that they were not among friends.

At eight P. M. Washington was reached. It had been a tedious journey, but the weather was fine, and the greetings along the line, even in Maryland, were encouraging. The first night the regiment bivouacked at the Soldiers' Rest. In the afternoon of the 23d it marched to Camp Leslie on Meridian Hill and formed its first camp. On the 25th it had its first drill. Two

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days later the regiment marched thru Washington and crossed the Chain Bridge in a cold rain storm, encamping in Virginia at Fort Ethan Allen. It was first brigaded with the 33d and 79th New York and 47th Pennsylvania as General Isaac Stevens' Brigade of General William Farrar Smith's Division. The regiment was under fire for the first time October 14, 1861, at Lewinsville, Virginia, where two of the men were wounded. It lay in Camp Griffin, near Lewinsville, till March 10, 1862, when it moved in the advance toward Manassas, but the evacuation of that point being reported, it marched through Fairfax to Cloud's Mill, near Alexandria. Here the regiment stayed until the Peninsular campaign under General George Brinton McClellan was undertaken a few weeks later.

During the winter the regiment was engaged in helping to build one of the forts for the defense of Washington. After the unfortunate defeat at Bull Run the cry became, "Drill and organize!" Against his own better judgment General Irwin McDowell had been forced to move against the Confederates at Manassas because clamor in the North demanded results before the service of the three months' enlistments expired. The result was the disaster at Bull Run, at which engagement the 49th New York Volunteers were fortunate in being absent.

McDowell was superseded by McClellan, who came fresh from his victories in West Virginia to take command of the Army of the Potomac. He taught the men the great lesson, that enthusiasm without military organization is of no more use than steam without an engine. Frederick the Great was a great drill-

master and his armies won wonderful victories. Daniel Davidson Bidwell had been a persistent drillmaster with Company D in Buffalo before the Civil War and it is hard to measure the value of that work or place a right estimate upon it. For six months McClellan was to be directing drillmaster of the Army of the Potomac and long after McClellan had left the service the splendid achievements of this well drilled army was to reflect the efficiency of the fall and winter of 1861-62. For some time there was to be no general movement in the eastern theatre of war and as the newspapers of the time repeated day after day "all was quiet on the Potomac," that quiet which meant, however, that both sides were getting ready to fight in terrible earnest.

ALL QUIET ALONG THE POTOMAC

"All quiet along the Potomac," they say,
Except, now and then, a stray picket
Is shot, as he walks on his beat to and fro,
By a rifleman hid in the thicket.

'Tis nothing — a private or two now and then
Will not count in the news of the battle;
Not an officer lost — only one of the men
Moaning out, all alone, the death rattle.

All quiet along the Potomac to-night,
Where the soldiers lay peacefully dreaming;
Their tents, in the rays of the clear autumn moon,
Or the light of a watch-fire, are gleaming.

A tremulous sigh of the gentle night wind
Thru the forest leaves softly is creeping.
While the stars above, with their glistening eyes,
Keep guard, for the army is sleeping.

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There's only the sound of the lone sentry's tread,
As he tramps from the rock to the fountain,
And thinks of the two in a low trundle bed,
Far away in the cot on the mountain.

His musket falls slack; his face, dark and grim,
Grows gentle with memories tender
As he mutters a prayer for the children asleep —
For their mother; may Heaven defend her!

The moon seems to shine just as brightly as then,
That night when the love yet unspoken
Leaped up to his lips — when the low murmured vows
Were pledged to be ever unbroken.

Then drawing his sleeve roughly over his eyes,
He dashes off tears that are welling,
And gathers his gun closer up to its place,
As if to keep down the heart-swelling.

He passes the fountain, the blasted pine tree,
The footstep is lagging and weary;
Yet onward he goes thru the broad belt of light,
Toward the shade of the forest so dreary.

Hark! Was it the wind that rustled the leaves —
Was it moonlight so wondrously flashing —
It looked like a rifle — "Ha! Mary, good-by!"
The red life blood is ebbing and plashing.

All quiet along the Potomac to-night,
Not a sound save the rush of the river;
While soft falls the dew on the face of the dead —
The picket's off duty forever!

Etheldina Eliot Beers.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PENINSULA CAMPAIGN

The new commander of the Army of the Potomac had graduated from the United States military academy at West Point with high rank. As an engineer officer he had made General Winfield Scott's campaign from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico during the Mexican War and had been twice brevetted for gallantry. At the time of the Crimean War he had been sent abroad by the United States government to examine and report upon the military establishments and methods then existing in Europe. The only services which he had had an opportunity to render thus far in the Civil War had been brilliantly performed, and had resulted in permanent successes. He was a thoro soldier, everything pertaining to the camp and field was dear to him. He knew just what this regiment or that battery needed in order to put it in first rate condition, and he also knew what esprit de corps meant and valued and cherished it accordingly. The militia regiments had promptly hastened away on the expiration of their three months' term of service, but the volunteers were kept busy from morning till night in their various military exercises, learning the routine of camp life, the manual of arms, the drill; acquiring also by degrees, some notion of discipline, — of what a regiment in active service must be, as distinguished from a militia regiment, if it is to stand

the rough experiences of actual warfare. All this was cheerfully and heartily borne because these three years' volunteers, unlike the militia, who had just gone home, were men who had enlisted with the serious purpose of becoming soldiers and outfighting the soldiers on the other side.

In October, 1861, General Winfield Scott retired from the service, being then seventy-five years of age. He was well known to many Buffalonians, having taken an active part on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812. The Battle of Lundy's Lane, near Niagara Falls, was fought under his command on July 25, 1814. In 1838 President Martin Van Buren sent him to Buffalo when trouble with England over the burning of the "Caroline" during the so-called Patriot War seemed imminent. Scott's last days were spent at the United States military academy at West Point where he is said to have remarked upon his arrival: "I have come here to die." General Scott served his country faithfully and well for over half a century.

At President Lincoln's request General McClellan prepared a memorandum on the object of the war and what he thought ought to be the general plan of operations. In it he said that no single success, no matter how striking, would bring the resistance of the Southern people to an end. They had made up their minds to fight to the last and the war must be prosecuted with the object of conquering them completely. Not only must their armed and organized forces in the field be defeated, but such overwhelming strength be displayed as would convince them of the

utter impossibility of resistance. In other wars the purpose was to conquer a peace and make a treaty on advantageous terms, but in this war it was necessary to crush a population numerous and warlike enough to constitute a nation.

In his general plan of operations McClellan states that the Southerners have chosen Virginia as their battlefield and it seems proper to make the first great struggle there. McClellan did not see the importance of cutting the Confederacy in two by opening up the Mississippi river. His plan for a combined army and navy movement thru the Atlantic states of the Confederacy and occupy Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile and New Orleans was the same plan followed by the English during the Revolutionary War. In that war the English captured and occupied New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and Savannah, but the capture of these cities had little effect on the fortunes of the American patriots. The purpose of war is to destroy armies, not to capture cities. The Southern blockade was just as effectual as the possession of the South's seaboard cities. Reverting to the Revolutionary struggle many Southern historians contend that it was a mistake for the Confederacy to spend so much in men, money and treasure in the defense of Richmond until the last year of the war. The Revolutionary patriots had allowed their capital, Philadelphia, to be captured by the English in the early part of the Revolution and they shifted their capital from place to place as circumstances dictated. So the South should have

shifted their capital from Richmond to Atlanta or other places as the exigencies of the times demanded.

Trench warfare was the outstanding feature of the late World War, but little do we realize the importance of the trenches dug by the farmers of New England on Bunker Hill on the night of June 16, 1775. There are still lessons to be learned from the strategy of our Revolutionary ancestors.

General McClellan was seriously ill for some weeks during the winter of 1861-2 and consequently no forward movement was possible. Dissatisfaction began to spread thruout the North. It was not easy for men wholly unfamiliar with war, who not only had never done military service themselves, but who possessed the Anglo-Saxon indifference for military art and soldierly training to believe that a hundred thousand men of their own race and with arms in their hands, could not go forward at once and crush out the rebellion. President Lincoln was also becoming impatient and on February 22, 1862 he issued a general order for a forward movement of the land and naval forces against the insurrection.

It had been expected that McClellan would march directly against the Confederates at Manassas but on account of the awful state of the roads in Northern Virginia the new commander of the Army of the Potomac planned to move by sea and take Richmond in flank and rear in order to get to work sooner. General McClellan claimed for his plan the recommendation of superior promptness of execution. "We can fix," he said, "no definite time for an advances on Manassas. The roads have gone from

bad to worse. Nothing like their present condition was ever known before; they are impassable at present. But a fleet, sufficiently large for the transportation of the army, can be collected within thirty days from the time when the order is given; and, the troops once landed, operations can be begun at once. The roads in that region are passable at all seasons of the year."

And so on March 17, 1862 the Army of the Potomac began embarking for Fortress Monroe. It was with many misgivings that President Lincoln and others saw the army go, altho General Irwin McDowell with 40,000 men was left behind to defend Washington. As the peninsula campaign of 1862 ended in disaster it is well to enumerate the reasons why it was undertaken. These seem to have been: First, an impatience at the North that something be done. Second, the impassableness of the roads in Northern Virginia at that time of the year. And Third, as General Grant's advance up the Cumberland river and capture of Fort Donelson had forced General Albert Sidney Johnston to retreat from Bowling Green and abandon Nashville, Tennessee, so General McClellan was of the impression that a strong force going up the James river and threatening Richmond would force the precipitate evacuation of Manassas and even of Richmond itself.

On Sunday March 23, 1862 at Alexandria, Virginia, on the "Arrowsmith" the 49th New York Volunteers embarked for Fortress Monroe. A few miles down the river the boat anchored for the night. Starting again at daylight it reached Fortress Monroe about seven o'clock in the evening. The men saw the

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“Monitor” (“the cheese box on a raft,” which had recently become famous for its engagement with the Confederate ironclad “Merrimac”) lying at anchor.

Disembarking early in the morning of March 25th, the 49th New York Volunteers marched out to Hampton Roads and on the 27th made reconnoissance to Watts Creek, returning to Newport News the next day.

The Army of the Potomac was detained for a month in the siege of Yorktown where General John Bankhead Magruder with a small army of Confederates were intrenched behind fortifications five miles long. There must have been some weak place in the enemy’s works where an attempt to break thru would have been successful and General William Faraar Smith’s engagement at Lee’s Mill on April 16th if properly supported would have broken the Confederate line. There was every reason why the Confederate line should be pierced without a long siege for the weather was very rainy, the mud was very deep, and the men were losing their health every day they stayed in the boggy and marshy land.

The 49th New York Volunteers participated in the engagement at Lee’s Mill on the Warwick river and here the first man in the regiment, Milton Lewis of Company K, was killed in battle. That night in the moonlight he was buried by his comrades among the small pines near where he fell, wrapped in his army blanket in a coffin made fromhardtack boxes. Hardly more than a boy he was but twenty-two years of age. At the close of the war his body was removed to the Yorktown national cemetery where with three other

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comrades of the 49th New York Volunteers he peacefully sleeps while the bright azalia casts its purple blossoms over their graves.

Colonel Bidwell wrote the following touching letter of sympathy to his mother, a widow at Jamestown, New York:

“My dear Madam:

“It is my sad and painful duty to inform you of the death of your son, Milton, who was killed to-day fighting gallantly in our engagement with the enemy at Lee’s Mill.

“I realize how futile will be any words of mine which shall try to soften your poignant grief in this hard loss of your dear son. He was beloved by all in his company and his captain had implicit trust and confidence in his ability and growing usefulness in the service. All too soon has his work in the army been cut short by the grim reaper, Death.

“In behalf of the whole regiment I am tendering to you our sympathy and condolence in your hour of bereavement believing that in trying to save the Union he has given his life for a righteous cause. In the days to come may there always abide with you the cherished memory of your loved and lost one, and in the feeling that in your costly sacrifice our Republic shall live. God be with you and keep you.

“Most sincerely

“Daniel Davidson Bidwell

“Colonel 49th New York Volunteers.”

Finally abandoning Yorktown on May 3rd the Confederates retreated to Williamsburg about fifteen

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miles westward on the Chickahominy river. Here two days later a battle was fought with the enemy under General James Longstreet, which altho obstinately contested resulted in victory for the Union forces. Heavy artillery fire started early in the morning and the 49th New York Volunteers expected to be sent into action at any moment, but it was not until the middle of the afternoon that they were sent to support General Winfield Scott Hancock's Brigade. The men marched two miles thru mud almost knee deep, crossed a mill dam, and arrived at the front just as the battle was over. That afternoon a heavy rain was falling and the men were drenched to their skin. Picket duty fell to the lot of the 49th New York Volunteers and just before morning of May 6th the rain stopped and the men pitched their tents near the fort which had been evacuated by the Confederates.

White House Landing on the Pamunkey river was made the base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac and this place was reached by Colonel Bidwell's regiment on May 14th. Up to this time the 49th New York Volunteers had been part of the Fourth Army Corps, at this time commanded by General Erasmus Darwin Keyes, but at White House Landing the Sixth Army Corps was organized with General William Buell Franklin as its first commander. Henceforth the 49th New York Volunteers was to be part of the Sixth Army Corps until the end of the Civil War.

General Joseph Eggleston Johnston the Confederate commander leisurely fell back towards Richmond and was followed more leisurely by

McClellan. Unfortunately the Army of the Potomac was divided by the Chickahominy river, the Third and Fourth Army Corps being on the south side of the river and the Second, Fifth and Sixth Army Corps being on the north side of this stream.

The Chickahominy was a stream insignificant in itself, but which was often swelled by rains so as to overflow its bed and to flood the marsh and boggy land thru which it flowed. It constituted a very formidable obstruction to the intercommunication which should have existed without possibility of interruption between all parts of the Army of the Potomac.

For weeks McClellan was floundering about in a swamp caused by the overflowing of the Chickahominy and spending much of his time building roads and bridges. In the engagements of Fair Oaks and Seven Pines the 49th New York Volunteers took no part, as the men of this regiment were kept busy building bridges and making corduroy roads thru the swamp.

General Johnston had been severely wounded at the engagement at Seven Pines and was incapacitated for duty until the following autumn. The command of the Confederate army now devolved upon Robert Edward Lee, who was henceforth to be its commander until the surrender at Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865.

After the Seven Pines engagement McClellan moved the Second and Sixth Army Corps to the south side of the Chickahominy river, leaving only the Fifth Army Corps on the north side. Richmond was to the south of the Chickahominy and if he was to capture

Richmond most of his army must be south of this stream, but the base of supplies for the army of the Potomac, White House Landing, was north of the Chickahominy and part at least of the army must be kept north of the river in order to protect the base of supplies. The situation of McClellan's army athwart the Chickahominy river was an unsafe one and McClellan began to realize it. He decided to change his base of supplies to Harrison's Landing on the James river.

But before he had an opportunity to do this Lee sent General Stuart with the Confederate cavalry to ascertain the character and strength of McClellan's line of communications. This bold cavalry leader rode north of the Chickahominy, noticed the insufficiency of the arrangements which McClellan was taking for the protection of his line of supplies, and then circled around the Army of the Potomac, tearing up bridges and burning car-loads of provisions, arriving back in Lee's camp with hardly the loss of a man.

The information derived from Stuart's raid gave Lee confidence to quietly and quickly take two-thirds of his army north of the Chickahominy and make a terrific onslaught on the Fifth Army Corps under General Porter at Gaines' Mill, driving it back in confusion and capturing twenty-two guns. In doing this Lee had left Richmond poorly protected and the question arises why did not McClellan push on and attempt to capture the Confederate capital. But after defeating General Porter, Lee was attempting to cut

off McClellan's line of communication. It was imperative now that the Army of the Potomac fall back to Malvern Hill and get into touch with the gunboats.

White House Landing as the base of supplies had to be abandoned. The 49th New York Volunteers was sent to Savage Station, which had been a distributing depot for supplies brought from White House Landing. Piles of hardtack as big as houses and immense quantities of other provisions, clothing, arms and ammunition were burned or otherwise destroyed. As night came on a train of freight cars was prepared for its last trip by being loaded with shells and other ammunition, and set on fire; the throttle of the locomotive was opened wide, and without a man aboard it was started toward White House Landing, where it was not expected to arrive. The high bridge over the Chickahominy river had been blown up, and the train went down into the river with a terrific explosion which sent up fireworks as high as the men could see. The men of Colonel Bidwell's regiment disliked to be engaged in this work of destruction, but like good soldiers they faithfully obeyed orders and performed the task allotted to them.

Late that night the 49th New York Volunteers started for White Oak Swamp and slow progress was made as the regiment was the rear guard, and there were many troops with wagon trains and batteries that had to precede it and cross the swamp before the bridge could be blown up. Daylight of June 30th was breaking when the bridge at last was destroyed and Colonel Bidwell and his men made their way up on the heights which overlooked the swamp.

The work assigned to the 49th New York Volunteers had been hard and difficult and they were only on the fringe of the engagement at Malvern Hill, the last battle of the peninsula campaign. The Army of the Potomac was unmolested on its retreat from Malvern Hill to Harrison's Landing on the James river, where McClellan established his new base of supplies. On July 8th President Lincoln arrived at Harrison's Landing, and that evening, accompanied by his suite and General McClellan and his large and brilliant staff, reviewed the Army of the Potomac by moonlight. It was a novel and very imposing spectacle.

The effect of the whole series of movements and battles of the peninsula campaign was entirely to the advantage of the Confederates. McClellan had been forced to give up his position on the Chickahominy river, where he was within sight of the steeples of Richmond, and to retire, followed by his enemies to the James river. It was in vain that it was pointed out to the Northern public that the Union army had fought as bravely and on the whole as successfully as its adversary. There was no probability of a speedy renewal of offensive operations by the Army of the Potomac on the Virginia peninsula. General Lee was far from satisfied with his success in his report to the war department at Richmond in which he states that the Union army should have been destroyed.

CHAPTER IX

SECOND BULL RUN AND ANTIETAM

On June 26th President Lincoln organized the Army of Virginia with General John Pope in command. The purpose of this army was to cover the city of Washington from any attacks from the direction of Richmond and to make such dispositions as were necessary to assure the safety of the valley of the Shenandoah.

On July 11th General Henry Wager Halleck was appointed general-in-chief by President Lincoln and assigned to the command of all the land forces of the United States. He retained this position until superseded by General Grant on March 2, 1864. However, Halleck still continued at Washington as chief of staff until the end of the war.

On August 3d orders were issued from Washington for the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from the Virginia peninsula. It was slow work moving an army of this size as the sick and wounded had to be sent away first, to be followed by quartermasters, commissary and ordnance stores as soon as transportation could be furnished. The army was being sent to Alexandria and turned over piecemeal to General Pope and McClellan was being left without a command.

Just as soon as Lee discovered that the Army of the Potomac were leaving Harrison's Landing he

decided to attack Pope before McClellan's reinforcements would reach him. Thus occurred the second Battle of Bull Run on August 30th. While Pope was at Warrenton Stonewall Jackson, stealing thru the mountains at Thorofare Gap, had got in his rear and destroyed his commissary and quartermaster stores at Manassas and tore up the railroad tracks. Pope did not at first realize the gravity of the situation and thought the raid was the work of only a small force. Had Pope fallen back on his communications at once he would have caught Jackson, isolated and crushed him. But instead he waited several days and when he did retire to Manassas he was confronted by the whole of Lee's army instead of part of it. This Pope did not know and thinking he was fighting only Jackson he made an attack on the Confederates. He was vastly outnumbered and badly defeated. Pope's task had been a simple one—to delay Lee as long as possible and to refuse to fight him until the two armies of Pope and McClellan should be united. Part of the Army of the Potomac reached him before the battle of August 30th, but the Sixth Army Corps, of which the 49th New York Volunteers was a part, did not reach Bull Run until six P.M. just as the battle was over. The corps served as a rear guard in the retreat to Alexandria in a drenching rain on roads knee deep with mud. Between Centerville and Fairfax the roads became impassable and wagon trains and artillery took to the fields on either side, many wagons and guns became mired, and in efforts to pass them others shared their fate, while still others kept crowding up

from behind. Darkness came early and it was a night of wild confusion.

Upon taking command Pope had issued a bombastic address in which he said:

"I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies; from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when he was found; whose policy has been attack and not defence. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy."

Now that his campaign in Northern Virginia had ended in such a fiasco he preferred charges against General Fitz John Porter, the commander of the Fifth Army Corps, for his inaction on August 29th when he was unable to move forward. The obstinate resistance of the Fifth Army Corps on the 30th largely saved the defeat from becoming a total rout. Porter was arraigned before a court martial in Washington and discharged from the army. The justice of this verdict has been the subject of much controversy. Porter himself made several appeals for a reversal of the decision of the court martial and various state legislatures passed memorials in his favor. In an article which he published in 1882 entitled "An Undeserved Stigma," General Grant stated that he was convinced of Fitz John Porter's innocence. Finally in 1886 Congress passed an act restoring Porter to his rank in the army.

Fitz John Porter came of a fighting family. His grandfather, David Porter, was a captain in the Continental navy during the Revolutionary War. His

uncle was Captain David Porter, who distinguished himself in the War of 1812 as commander of the frigate, "Essex," and his own father was a naval commander in this same war. The celebrated Admiral David Dixon Porter of the Civil War was his cousin.

On September 5th Pope was relieved from duty, and subsequently he was sent to the West. The Army of Virginia was consolidated with the Army of the Potomac under the latter name. There was no formal order reinvesting McClellan with the command of the Army of the Potomac, for he had never been relieved from this command. It is true that Pope accused McClellan of having intentionally ruined his campaign by delaying to send to his assistance the Second and Sixth Army Corps, but the failure of Pope's operations had been so manifest, and the lack of belief on the part of the troops in his ability as a commander of an army had become so universal that there was really nothing for the government to do but to relieve him.

Lee was now considering what use he would make of his victory—what step he would take next. President Lincoln thought that Lee might cross the border, and that Baltimore and Pennsylvania must be covered as well as Washington. The Confederate troops were in high spirits and full of confidence in their commander, and while Lee's army lacked much of the material of war, was feeble in transportation on account of the animals being much reduced and the men poorly provided with clothes and in many cases destitute of shoes, Lee decided to take advantage of

the favorable elements in the military situation and to cross the Potomac river.

Virginia was clear of Union forces and it was desirable from the Confederate standpoint to keep it so. This would enable them to secure the crops of the Shenandoah Valley and of north-east Virginia. There was the hope that the presence of the Confederate army in the State of Maryland might arouse the people of that state to rise against the United States and declare their state independent of the Union. In the early days of the war Baltimore had fallen completely under the control of the favorers of secession. If Maryland had been south of the capital of the Union instead of north of it she might have cast in her lot with the majority of the slaveholding states, for Maryland was also a slaveholding state. The pressure exercised unhesitatingly upon Maryland by the government of the United States had prevented the advocates of secession from exhibiting their full strength.

It was eminently desirable to exhibit the spectacle of a Confederate army freely traversing the soil of the states which remained in the Union for the effect it might have on Northern sentiment and also on foreign opinion, in the direction of indicating the impossibility of the North's accomplishing the tremendous task of subjugating the South. The party in the North which had always believed in this impossibility would certainly have its belief fortified when an invasion of the North was substituted for an invasion of the South; and the chance of foreign intervention to raise the Southern blockade would

be materially increased. The blockade of the Southern ports was doing its work and slowly but surely bringing the South to submission.

On September 4th Lee's army crossed the Potomac river his men singing exultingly, "Maryland, my Maryland." Lee issued a proclamation to the people on getting into Maryland, saying that his army had come to help them throw off the yoke of the North, which deprived them of their rights. The proclamation was coldly received for there was no desire to have their state become the theater of war. September 6th the Army of the Potomac was in motion, McClellan moving west from Washington with his right well forward and his left on the Potomac river so as to cover both Washington and Baltimore, concentrate at once in any direction, and be able to follow into Pennsylvania if required. A copy of Lee's orders issued on September 9th shortly afterwards fell into McClellan's hands.

Lee's army passed thru Frederick where it is supposed occurred Barbara Frietchie's persistence in waving aloft the Union flag and so touching the heart of Stonewall Jackson who had gallantly fought under that Union flag during the Mexican War that he cried, "Who touches a hair of yon gray head dies like a dog." How wonderfully Whittier has immortalized the scene in his celebrated poem.

To be put suddenly into complete possession of one's adversary's intentions and situation is a piece of good luck which has rarely happened even to the fortunate generals of the world. If McClellan had now pushed forward rapidly he would have been able

to march thru the passes of South Mountain unopposed and attacked Lee's army while it was divided, for the Confederate commander had sent Stonewall Jackson to capture Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry. McClellan was dilatory as usual and when Lee learned on September 13th of the disclosure of his plans to McClellan he immediately sent Longstreet to hold as long as possible the passes of South Mountain at Crampton's Gap and Turner's Gap. Thus when the Army of the Potomac reached South Mountain they found these passes guarded and on the 14th occurred the Battle of South Mountain. Longstreet was defeated and driven westward towards Antietam. The 49th New York Volunteers had a part in the engagement at Turner's Gap and captured some prisoners.

The delay at South Mountain had enabled Lee to reunite his army for Jackson had arrived bringing with him guns and ammunition from the capture of Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry.

In the engagement at South Mountain General Jesse Lee Reno was killed on the Union side, being but thirty-nine years of age. A native of Virginia, he had graduated from the United States military academy at West Point and had served with gallantry thru the Mexican War. Like Scott and Thomas he considered the United States his country and refused to join the Confederacy when Virginia seceded from the Union. How high the passions of the people rose at that time is evidenced by the report to the war department at Richmond of the Confederate General Daniel Harney Hill of the Battle of South Mountain

and in detailing the casualties said: "The Yankees on their side lost General Reno, a renegade Virginian, who was killed by a happy shot from the 23d North Carolina Regiment."

General Thomas, altho a Virginian, in his official reports characterized the Southerners as rebels. Undoubtedly they were rebels but it is a hard term, and Daniel Davidson Bidwell never used the word rebel in any of his official reports.

Antietam creek flows south into the Potomac river and on the west side of this creek Lee had placed his army. The First and Twelfth Army Corps of the Army of the Potomac crossed Antietam creek in the night of September 16th and attacked Lee's left early in the morning of the 17th. There should have been a simultaneous attack on the Confederate army, but the Ninth Army Corps did not get across Antietam creek and attack Lee's right until three o'clock in the afternoon when the fighting on Lee's left was all over. The conflict in the center around the Dunker Church was one of the most sanguinary and desperate of the whole war. Here was a church built by a sect whose creed is unalterably opposed to war in any form, standing on the turnpike in the edge of the woods, a silent witness to war's bloody strife. The Sixth Army Corps, of which the 49th New York Volunteers was a part, took an active part in the conflict in the center. Six times the ground about the Dunker Church was fought over and occupied first by one side and then by another until about noon when hostilities in this part of the field ceased.

A truce of twenty-four hours was agreed upon for

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the purpose of burying the dead and removing and caring for the wounded. The Confederates utilized this time by sending their trains and artillery to the rear and on the night of September 18th Lee's army crossed the Potomac river and was once more back in Virginia.

The invasion of the North had lasted just two weeks. Lee had blundered. He had spent so much time in capturing Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry that McClellan had been able to confront him with the Army of the Potomac just north of the Potomac river. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 when the French general Marshall Francois Achille Bazaine shut himself and army in the fortress of Metz, the Germans wasted no time besieging the fortress but swept right on towards Paris. The only part of Maryland entered by Lee's army was the extreme western section where Union sentiment was very strong. The secession stronghold was in the eastern part of the state. Had Lee hastened on he could have invaded Pennsylvania as he did a year later. Consequently his invasion was fruitless as far as affecting Northern opinion or raising the Southern blockade thru foreign intervention.

Lieutenant Colonel William Clendenin Alberger of the 49th New York Volunteers, who was a brother of Mayor Alberger of Buffalo, was wounded at the Battle of Antietam, and he was discharged from the army on account of disability.

The Washington authorities expected McClellan to follow up his success at Antietam with a speedy

invasion of Virginia while the fine autumn weather lasted, but it was not until October 26th that the Army of the Potomac finally crossed over the Potomac river into the Old Dominion.

On October 6th President Lincoln had sent an order to McClellan requesting him to cross the Potomac river and give battle to the enemy or drive him south. He was told to move now while the roads were good. But McClellan complained that considerable time should be devoted to the reorganization of the army and the tone of his letters was that of an officer who proposed to do exactly as he thought best. At last out of patience the President on November 7th removed McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac and appointed Ambrose Everett Burnside in his place. The appointment was a genuine surprise to every one. Burnside accepted the appointment with reluctance. He had been one of McClellan's strongest partisans and he assured the officer who brought him the order that he did not consider himself equal to the responsibilities which the command of the army involved.

Five days after the Battle of Antietam President Lincoln issued his proclamation announcing his intention of freeing the slaves in those states which should be in insurrection on January 1, 1863. However, this had to be confirmed by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution adopted in 1865. Slavery was repugnant to the people of Europe and henceforth the South could count on no aid from Europe where it was now believed the war was for

the purpose of destroying slavery. However, in the North to encourage enlistments in the army the slogan continued to be "Fight to save the Union."

BARBARA FRIETCHIE

Up from the meadows rich with corn,
Clear in the cool September morn,
The clustered spires of Frederick stand
Green-walled by the hills of Maryland.
'Round about them orchards sweep,
Apple and peach tree fruited deep,
Fair as the garden of the Lord
To the eyes of the famished rebel horde,
On that pleasant morn of the early fall
When Lee marched over the mountain wall.
Over the mountains winding down,
Horse and foot into Frederick town.
Forty flags with their silver stars,
Forty flags with their crimson bars,
Flapped in the morning wind; the sun
Of noon looked down, and saw not one.
Up rose old Barbara Frietchie then,
Bowed with her fourscore years and ten;
In her attic window the staff she set,
To show that one heart was loyal yet.
Up the street came the rebel tread,
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.
Under his slouched hat left and right
He glanced; the old flag met his sight.
"Halt!" — the dust brown ranks stood fast.
"Fire!" — out blazed the rifle blast.

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It shivered the window, pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.

Quick as it fell from the broken staff
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf.

She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.

"Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag," she said,

A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came;

The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word;

"Who touches a hair of yon gray head
"Dies like a dog! March on!" he said.

All day long thru Frederick street
Sounded the tread of marching feet;

All day long that free flag tost
Over the heads of the rebel host.

Ever its torn folds rose and fell
On the loyal winds that loved it well;

And thru the bill-gaps sunset light
Shone over it with a warm good-night.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,
And the rebel rides on his raids no more.

Honor to her! and let a tear
Fall, for her sake, on Stonewall's bier.

Over Barbara Frietchie's grave,
Flag of Freedom and Union, wave!

Peace and order and beauty draw
'Round thy symbol of light and law;

And ever the stars above look down
On thy stars below in Frederick town!

John Greenleaf Whittier.

CHAPTER X

FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

When Burnside took command of the Army of the Potomac Lee's army was separated in two, half of it being in the Shenandoah Valley at Winchester under Stonewall Jackson, while the other half was at Culpeper under General Longstreet. Burnside divided the Army of the Potomac into three Grand Divisions, the Right Grand Division to be composed of the Second and Ninth Army Corps to be under General Edwin Vose Sumner, the Center Grand Division to be composed of the Third and Fifth Army Corps to be under General Joseph Hooker, and the Left Grand Division to be composed of the First and Sixth Army Corps to be under General William Buel Franklin. The 49th New York Volunteers was thus a part of the Left Grand Division.

Cold weather was coming on and it would seem prudent to have waited until spring before taking the offensive, but Burnside thought he could fall upon that part of Lee's army under Longstreet while Jackson was fifty miles away. Giving up the Orange and Alexandria Railroad as a line of supply he decided to make Acquia Creek on the Potomac river his base of supplies.

When the army reached Falmouth on the north side of the Rappahannock river, the pontoon bridges which were to have been sent there from Washington

had not arrived, and a wait of over a week ensued, which gave Lee ample time to concentrate his army at Fredericksburg on the south side of the Rappahannock river. Marye's Heights behind the town of Fredericksburg was an extremely strong position protected by a stone wall four feet high and artificially strengthened it constituted an intrenchment practically impregnable.

Burnside's plan was for the Left Grand Division to cross the Rappahannock river below Fredericksburg and at daybreak on December 13th attack Lee's right, hoping to reach his rear. Franklin was delayed in getting across the river on account of the heavy fog and was driven back with heavy loss. Sumner had great difficulty in getting his pontoon bridges over the river in full view of Lee's army, but finally succeeded, and was then ordered to charge up against the breastworks. Six desperate attempts were made only to be terribly repulsed each time. Hooker with the Center Grand Division did not cross the river.

Burnside desired to make another attack on the following day, but he was persuaded to give up the struggle. In reviewing this bloody defeat of the Army of the Potomac one wonders why Burnside made the attempt at all. There was no chance of success in attacking the strong fortifications on Marye's Heights.

Planning to make another attack the latter part of December Burnside was called to Washington and informed that many of the officers of the army had signed a round robin informing the government that in their opinion another attack would end in dire disaster.

Not to be deterred on January 20, 1863 Burnside moved up the river with a part of the army to the fords of the Rapidan and was preparing to cross the stream in force when the whole operation was stopped by a storm of unusual violence, which rendered all the roads impassable; and the army, tired, disgusted, and feeling that its commander was incompetent for his high position, returned to its camp at Falmouth.

Burnside, wearied with repeated disappointments, knowing that many of his officers considered him unfit to command the army, and believing that his ill success was due to their insubordination or unwillingness to serve under him with spirit and heartness, wrote his celebrated order number eight, dismissing from the service four generals and relieving from duty with the Army of the Potomac four others. President Lincoln now relieved Burnside from the command and appointed General Joseph Hooker as the new commander of the Army of the Potomac.

Colonel Bidwell went to Buffalo in December 1862 to attend the funeral of his father. How little did he realize that it was the last time he was ever to walk the streets of Buffalo. For over forty years it had been his home and during his lifetime it had grown from a staggering village to a city of over ninety thousand inhabitants. In a little less than two years his slain body was to be brought to the Queen City of the Lakes for burial.

Hooker had been one of the four generals Burnside had dismissed from the service and now he was given the supreme command. Among his men he was known as "Fighting Joe Hooker." His energy soon

manifested itself in the reorganization of the army. The three grand divisions were abolished and the corps commanders were made directly responsible to Hooker himself. The new commander was convinced that a winter campaign in that climate and on that soil was unwise, and so he decided to wait until spring before attacking the enemy.

Dividing the Army of the Potomac and taking with him the Second, Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Army Corps, Hooker during the latter part of April had succeeded in crossing the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers and reached the rear of Lee's army at Chancellorsville eleven miles west of Fredericksburg. Lee was deceived by the demonstration in front of him at Fredericksburg by the First, Third and Sixth Army Corps. As this demonstration did not cross the river Lee became convinced that the main attack was going to be made on his flank and rear. He now turned about and concentrated his whole army at Chancellorsville. When Lee appeared Hooker fell back and attempted to fortify himself in the wilderness, but in the thick cover many of the troops lost their way and co-ordinated work was impossible. Lee conceived the bold plan of sending Stonewall Jackson with nearly two-thirds of his army to the rear of Hooker's right and taking the Eleventh Army Corps with surprise, it drove it back upon the rest of the line in much confusion.

Hooker had ordered the First and Third Army Corps to his assistance and only the Sixth Army Corps under General John Sedgwick remained at Fredericksburg. Sedgwick was ordered to advance

directly forward. He did so and crossing the Rappahannock river stormed Marye's Heights, which had proved impregnable when attacked by Burnside in December. It was carried now by a direct assault largely because the Confederate commander had left but a small force to defend it. Sedgwick pushed on to Salem Church, expecting to meet the Army of the Potomac, but instead met the whole of the Confederate army which had turned about and fell with tremendous force upon a single army corps. It would almost seem as tho Hooker had left Sedgwick to his fate.

Hooker had been very successful at first in deceiving Lee and getting most of the Army of the Potomac in the rear of the Confederate army at Chancellorsville, but then instead of boldly attacking Lee he waited for Lee to attack him. One would almost judge that Hooker had become bewildered and did not know what to do. Lee was a man who could meet any emergencies. Instead of attacking Hooker at once Stonewall Jackson was detached from the main army and with his force marched ten miles in a circuitous route, falling in tremendous force upon the rear of the Eleventh Army Corps and driving it in confusion back upon the rest of the Army of the Potomac. All this time Hooker was practically idle. After this debacle had occurred Lee attacked Hooker on May 3d and fought the fierce Battle of Chancellorsville driving the Army of the Potomac so that its back rested on the Rapidan river. That night Hooker called a council of his army corps commanders to obtain their views as to whether it was advisable to continue the contest or to retire to the north of the Rappahannock river.

Five of his seven army corps commanders were present and three voted to continue the battle and two voted for a retreat. Hooker then informed the council that he would take upon himself the responsibility of retiring the Army of the Potomac to the north side of the Rappahannock river. As he came away from the council General John Fulton Reynolds, commander of the First Army Corps, remarked to a fellow officer: "What was the use of calling us together at this hour of the night when he intended to retreat anyhow?"

Taking advantage of his interior lines Lee threw his forces on Hooker and Sedgwick in succession, playing with them as a cat plays with its prey. May 4th Sedgwick had to bear the brunt of the fight and it was with extreme difficulty that he was able to retreat without being captured and during the darkness of the night he succeeded in recrossing the Rappahannock river.

The 49th New York Volunteers was the rear guard on the night of May 4th and three companies of the regiment, G, I and K, came near being left behind. Sergeant Sumner Alonzo Smith of Company G in his diary says:

"After having repulsed the enemy several times we returned to the line, where darkness found us waiting to move, and wondering why it did not come. We learned afterwards that an order had been given, at the right, to move off quietly, which was repeated along the line, until it reached an interval between companies and those beyond had received no orders. Most of the regiment had gone some distance, when

the absence of three companies was discovered and reported to Colonel Bidwell, who rode back to see for himself. It was too true. Companies G, I and K were missing. Colonel Bidwell was in command of the Third Brigade of the Second Division of the Sixth Army Corps at this time and he sent one of his aides to bring them in. In a short time he returned and reported that the enemy had advanced and the men could not be found.

“Colonel Bidwell then asked, ‘Who will go and bring in these men?’

“His orderly, Robert Henry Johnson, familiarly known as ‘Tip’ Johnson, knowing where they had been before dark, said he would find them, and was soon off in search of them. He rode far to the left, arriving at some logs, where he dismounted, when he heard the click of a musket, and a voice which he recognized as belonging to Gustavus Vedder of Company I called out, ‘Halt, who comes there?’ to which ‘Tip’ gladly responded, ‘A friend, don’t you know me, Gus?’ ‘Who are you anyhow?’ demanded Vedder. The enemy’s pickets were now awake and silence was in order.

“Johnson soon found his way to the men and whispered his instructions. All very gently moved back carrying their muskets at a ‘trail,’ ready at any moment for action. The Confederate skirmishers were dimly seen in the darkness marching in the same direction as the men of the 49th New York Volunteers, but at a respectful distance. When the men reached the regiment, all were happy to see them

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again, for it was their belief that they had been captured.”

The next day on the north side of the Rappahannock river on the parade ground at Falmouth Colonel Bidwell commended and thanked his men for their good conduct in the recent battle.

From this campaign Hooker lost the confidence and respect of his army and of the country. Practice in commanding large armies in battle is the privilege of a very few. A superior intellect, and long and hard study are required to make an efficient commander. He must be ready for all contingencies, and he must thoroughly study his campaigns and battles in his head or on the map, before he is called upon to fight them in the field. Hooker had skill in conducting a fight under his own eye, but his mind was not equal to the task of directing and co-ordinating the operations of large bodies of troops of whose relative positions he could judge only from reports. When his adversary's movements were not what he had anticipated, he had not the skill to change his own dispositions to meet them.

President Lincoln sent General Halleck to the front to investigate why Hooker's campaign had turned out so disastrously. Altho Hooker plead for another chance, Halleck reported to Washington that Hooker must not be entrusted with the conduct of another battle. Still he was allowed to begin the next campaign, and it was not until June 28th that he was superseded by General George Gordon Meade. Roused out of his tent at midnight at Frederick, Maryland, by an officer just arrived from Washington, Meade

was informed that he had been appointed commander of the Army of the Potomac. Meade stated that he would not accept the command, that the Washington authorities had appointed the wrong man, and that General Reynolds of the First Army Corps was the one who should be given the supreme command of the army. Reynolds was a warm, personal friend of Meade's and he hastened to the place and persuaded Meade to take the position assuring him of his hearty support and co-operation. Three days later Reynolds was killed in battle. Hooker left the army that night without disclosing to Meade his plans or arrangements for the campaign.

At the Battle of Chancellorsville the Confederacy lost one of its best soldiers, General Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson, who was accidentally shot by his own men in the darkness of the evening of May 2d. Five days later he died. A bronze statue of General Jackson, paid for by English subscriptions, was unveiled at Richmond, Virginia, in 1875. When Prime Minister David Lloyd-George of England came to America in 1923 he visited the tomb of Jackson at Lexington, Virginia, remarking at the time that he considered Stonewall Jackson America's greatest general, and that after his death Lee never won another battle.

Stonewall Jackson was a deeply religious man and most of his official reports to the war department at Richmond commenced with the phrase, "Thru the blessing of God." Altho before the Civil War he had conducted a Sunday School for the colored people, yet he believed that slavery was approved and justified

by the Bible. In this he differed from John Brown who fiercely contended that the Bible condemned slavery. Both of these men, Stonewall Jackson and John Brown, were of the type of men who composed Cromwell's Ironsides in the seventeenth century, of whom no better fighters were ever known, and figuratively speaking we might say they fought with a Bible in one hand and a blunderbus in the other.

It would be hard to find a more difficult task for an army officer to perform than that which was thrown upon Meade's shoulders. He had to defend his country against the ablest general of his day who had pushed his advance farther than ever before, and a defeat at this time would mean dire disaster to the whole country. Meade had the general confidence of the Army of the Potomac, with which he had served long and efficiently.

The question arises why this second invasion of the North by Lee's army when the previous one less than a year before had lasted but two weeks. The answer seems to be that the ruling idea of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, was that the way to end the war was thru foreign intervention. Lee's army pushing on to Baltimore or Washington and taking possession of the land which he could not hope to hold, would make such a display of power that foreign powers might recognize the Southern Confederacy and raise the blockade. The peace party at the North might declare the war a failure.

On June 3d Lee's army left Fredericksburg and the Rappahannock river, and started north, going down the Shenandoah Valley west of Washington.

In this invasion Lee did not waste any time with the capture of Harpers Ferry, neither did he issue a proclamation to the people of Maryland as he swept thru the western section of the state into Pennsylvania. Following the Cumberland Valley Lee had reached Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, when he learned that the Army of the Potomac had crossed the Potomac river into Maryland. The Confederate commander had been quite in the dark as to the movement of the Union forces, for his cavalry, the eyes of the army, had gone off in a raid around Washington, and being out of touch with the rest of the army, had given Lee no information. When Lee learned that the Army of the Potomac was on his heels, he turned back and arranged for a concentration of his forces at Cashtown.

CHAPTER XI

GETTYSBURG

To take a beaten army from a beaten commander, and at three days' notice fight a battle against troops like Lee's under a general like Lee, was as hard a task as was ever imposed on mortal man in this fighting world. Meade accepted the responsibility and saved a nation. He was a plain, quiet man who dealt little in words and wrote no magniloquent dispatches. But he was a thinker; he believed that battles depended more on brains than on sabres; he thought out his strategy to the end, yet was quick also to meet an emergency that disarranged his thinking. When the great struggle was over, others got much credit that should have been his.

On the evening of June 30th the two armies lay, the Confederates to the north and west, the Unions to the south and east, of Gettysburg, mostly within a radius of twenty-five miles. Lee had definite information of Meade's whereabouts a day sooner than Meade had of his. The Army of the Potomac was more scattered than Lee's forces, the Sixth Army Corps having been sent to Manchester far to the east in order to protect Baltimore from attack. In four days the 49th New York Volunteers had marched over one hundred miles under a burning sun.

On the morning of Wednesday, July 1st General Napoleon Bonaparte Buford, commanding the Union

cavalry, had advanced north of Gettysburg and fallen in with the advance of Lee's army led by General Henry Heth. Buford was a native of Kentucky and a Southerner. Heth was on his way to Gettysburg to obtain supplies for the army especially shoes. It was a surprise meeting for both sides, but Buford made arrangements for entertaining the enemy until General Reynolds and the first Army Corps could reach the scene. Dismounting his men, spreading out, and firing rapidly Buford made Heth believe he had met a large body of infantry. At about ten o'clock Reynolds reached the scene of action and fifteen minutes later he was killed. Fortunately soon after General Oliver Otis Howard arrived with the Eleventh Army Corp and assumed command. Twelve roads from all points of the compass meet at Gettysburg and Howard quickly perceived that the army that held it would have greater mobility, could concentrate quicker and strike in any direction. Under his direction the Union forces retired to a strong position on a range of rocky hills near Gettysburg, of which Culp's Hill and Little Round Top were the two extremes of the line, and Cemetery Hill was the apex.

After the death of Reynolds there had been a lull in the battle, for General Ambrose Powell Hill, who had arrived with the rest of Lee's Third Army Corps, of which Heth commanded the Second Division, thought that the Union army was in force before him and did not attempt to push his reconnaissance any farther. This gave Howard the opportunity to intrench on the rocky summits south of Gettysburg. He also sent an urgent summons to General Henry

Warner Slocum, who with the Twelfth Army Corps, was at Two Taverns, only five miles away. Slocum reached the battlefield at four P. M.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon of July 1st that Robert Edward Lee reached Gettysburg. In the morning he had given orders that his headquarters for the present would be at Cashtown, but later in the day when cannonading was heard and it continued to increase in volume he rode rapidly forward to ascertain the cause. Before reaching Gettysburg he was notified by General Richard Stoddard Ewell, commanding the Second Army Corps of the Confederate army, that he was hastening with his corps to Hill's assistance at Gettysburg. Lee notified him that he did not want to bring on a general engagement until the rest of the army came up. The Confederates were at Gettysburg in largely superior forces the first day and might easily have crushed the Union army if they had followed up their offensive. Lee let this opportunity slip, for on account of the absence of his cavalry he was without definite information as to the number of Union soldiers in and about Gettysburg and he greatly overestimated those present.

All night long the Union troops came pouring in and they were posted under the direction of Meade, who arrived at midnight, as follows: The Eleventh Army Corps, under General Howard, was still to occupy Cemetery Hill, just opposite the town. Upon a knoll to the right of the Eleventh Army Corps was the First Army Corps, now under the command of General John Newton. And still farther, forming the extreme right of the army, was the Twelfth Army

Corps, under the command of General Slocum. On the left of Cemetery Hill occupying the extension of the ridge and a prominent hill, Little Round Top, the Third Army Corps, under General Daniel Edgar Sickles, and the Second Army Corps, under General Winfield Scott Hancock, were posted. The Fifth Army Corps, under General George Sykes, was to be held in reserve until the arrival of the largest army corps of the Union forces, the Sixth Army Corps, from Manchester.

Lee, the attacker, had to consider his position and prospects. Meade could wait, but Lee having no cavalry at hand could not live on the country and had to depend on his supply trains. General James Longstreet, commanding the First Army Corps of the Confederate army, strongly advised swinging around to the left of the Army of the Potomac and cutting it off from Washington, thus forcing Meade to do the attacking, for he believed the Union forces to be too strongly intrenched to be stormed in front. A battle was necessary to the invader, and a defeat at Gettysburg would be less serious than a defeat much further east, for from Gettysburg Lee would only have to hold the passes of South Mountain in order to cover his retreat back into Virginia. All of Lee's army was with him now, whereas Meade was considerably short. No time was to be lost and therefore Lee determined to attack on July 2d as soon as possible.

An imprudent move on the Union side gave Lee an advantage upon which he could not have counted. Sickles instead of leaving the Third Army Corps on the line that had been indicated to him between Round

Top and Cemetery Hill had advanced in front of Little Round Top to the peach orchard on the Emmitsburg road. The new line was nearly a mile longer than the one he was told to occupy. It exposed a salient, almost a right angle to the enemy, in a position where they could enfilade both faces, approach under cover, and bring a strong force to bear upon it before it could be reinforced. Lee started out to crush the isolated Third Army Corps.

At eleven o'clock Longstreet received the order to attack. But he delayed until afternoon when all of his forces were at hand. The exposed salient was broken and Sickles and his corps would have been captured but for the reinforcements which Meade sent him consisting of the Fifth Army Corps and a large part of the Twelfth Army Corps, thus weakening the Union right.

After an artillery duel Ewell advanced at half past six with the Second Army Corps of the Confederate army against the Union right and found the position almost bare, for every man who could be spared had gone to help Sickles at the peach orchard. The Confederates captured the works of the Twelfth Army Corps close to the Baltimore road. At the same time the Confederates broke the Union line at Cemetery Hill. Conditions were ominous, for while Sickles had been saved on the extreme left, Meade's center and right was giving way. But now the Sixth Army Corps began to arrive. The weather was very hot, there had been no rain for some time and the roads were very dusty, yet all day long the Sixth Army Corps had been marching from Manchester, thirty-five

miles away. The men had heard the cannonading in the distance and knew that they were sorely needed at the front. Cheers and shouts of joy filled the air as Sedgwick's veterans came filing in. General Robert Emmett Rodes of the Confederate army says: "The mere sight of the long lines and solid blue masses which appeared to the Confederates as the Sixth Army Corps cleared the woods and scanned the opposite slopes paralyzed our advance."

The Sixth Army Corps was divided and sent to different positions to strengthen weak parts of the line. The Third Brigade of the Second Division, in which was the 49th New York Volunteers, went to the extreme right of the army. Darkness covered the field, and the second day's battle was over.

The morning of July 3d dawned brightly and at once the rattle of musketry told of the renewal of the strife. On the right where General Slocum, with a single division of the Twelfth Army Corps and the Third Brigade of the Second Division of the Sixth Army Corps held the long line, an attempt was made to retake the rifle pits captured by the Confederates the previous afternoon. The fighting that ensued was furious. At length the Third Brigade passed far to the right of the Confederate line, and poured an enfilading volley into the rear of Ewell's men. Supposing that a heavy force had got on their flank the Confederates withdrew, when the Union forces charging in turn, drove the enemy with great loss from the rifle pits, and held them during the rest of the day in spite of repeated efforts of Ewell to dislodge them.

Commenting on the second day's battle, Lee in his report to the war department at Richmond says: "The result of this day's operation induced the belief that with a proper concert of action, and with the increased support that the positions gained on the right would enable the artillery to render the assaulting columns, we should ultimately succeed, and it was accordingly determined to continue the attack. The general plan was unchanged. Longstreet was ordered to attack the next morning and Ewell was directed to assail the enemy's right at the same time."

Longstreet strongly protested against a frontal attack. It had been tested on the 2d when the men were all fresh and the Union commander did not have his whole force at hand. He again suggested swinging around to the left of the Army of the Potomac and cutting it off from Washington. But he says Lee was impatient of listening, and tired of talking, and nothing was left but to proceed. Longstreet, known as "Old Pete" by his men, was one of the hardest fighters in the Confederate army. He has been unjustly criticized by many Southern writers as the cause of Lee's failure at Gettysburg. So hard was he judged and to such ostracism was he put that after the Civil War he allied himself with the Republican party.

On July 3d, between ten and eleven, the Confederates planted their cannon in batteries opposite the Army of the Potomac from a short distance south of Gettysburg to the peach orchard, a line nearly two miles in length. Then for two hours a fearful cannonading that shook the country around was kept up.

But it did little damage to the Union forces, for the projectiles passed overhead and swept the open ground in the rear. The Union batteries replied, but Meade soon ordered them ceased in order to save the ammunition for the infantry attack which he knew would promptly follow. During this cannonading many of the Union men who had been without sleep, and almost without food, for twenty-four hours, fell asleep directly in front of the Union batteries that were firing over them.

General George Edward Pickett with 15,000 of Longstreet's best men was to lead the infantry attack. At 1.40 P. M. a note from Lee to charge was received by Pickett while in Longstreet's presence. Both Longstreet and Pickett disapproved of the charge. Pickett read the note and handed it to Longstreet, who read it but said nothing. Pickett said: "General, shall I advance?" Longstreet knew that it must be done, but was unwilling to speak the words. He turned in his saddle and looked away. Pickett saluted, and said: "I am going to move forward sir," and galloped off.

Pickett's men moved at a walk majestically on. No sooner had they debouched on the plain than all the Union line which had been silent for some time broke out again with all its batteries. As Pickett's men approached the point of attack they were exposed to the front and slant fire of the infantry, and to the front, slant, and enfilade fire of the artillery. Their graceful lines underwent an instantaneous transformation in a dense cloud of smoke and dust; arms, heads, blankets, guns, and knapsacks were tossed in

the air, and the moan from the battlefield was heard amid the storm of battle. Both flanks of the advancing line were shot to pieces while in the center the losses were made up by those who were led by their instinct and object to crowd in towards each other. Twenty colors were captured within a space of one hundred yards square and over fifteen hundred prisoners were captured.

When Pickett brought back the shattered remnant of his force, Lee exclaimed, "It is all my fault," and proceeded in person to rally his troops. With that wonderful magnanimity which this great man so fully possessed he did not seek to shift the blame to someone else, but he took all the responsibility on his own shoulders.

It was largely thru the influence of Abraham Lincoln that George Edward Pickett had been appointed a cadet at the United States military academy at West Point from an Illinois congressional district in 1842. He was on Puget Sound in the territory of Washington when he resigned from the United States army June 25, 1861. Being a Virginian by birth he felt that his duty was with his native state.

Concerning Pickett's charge Lee's nephew, Fitzhugh Lee, says: "What if every man in that assault had been bullet proof, and if the whole of those fifteen thousand splendid troops had arrived unharmed on Cemetery Ridge, what could they have accomplished? Amid the fire and smoke of this false move these troops knew someone had blundered."

The battle of Gettysburg will ever be memorable for the valor displayed by the troops on both sides.

This battle proved that the great commander who had so often defeated the Army of the Potomac was not invincible. It also dispelled the McClellan myth. After the reverses at Second Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville there was always a cry for McClellan. That McClellan had organized the Army of the Potomac and he alone could handle it and win victories. But the Battle of Gettysburg proved that someone else could handle this big army and defeat Robert Edward Lee.

Those of Lee's friends who regard him as infallible, and believe that his every act was prompted by his unerring sagacity, do him a great injustice. Heretofore he had dealt with incompetent adversaries. So often there had been intrigue and jealousy among the officers of the Army of the Potomac as to mar success, but at Gettysburg the team work among the Union corps commanders had been superb.

Fitzhugh Lee says that his uncle was bitterly disappointed by the result at Gettysburg. "This has been a sad day to us," said Lee on July 3d, "but we cannot always expect to win victories." Lee had undertaken this second invasion of the North with reluctance. But Jefferson Davis believed that a successful northern invasion would result in foreign intervention and raise the southern blockade. Yet after Lincoln's emancipation proclamation no government in England would dare to recognize the Southern Confederacy and altho Napoleon III was giving fine promises to Confederate agents his dynasty was shaky and he feared to take any action alone.

On July 4th Lee intrenched a line from Oak Hill to

peach orchard, and started his trains back under cover of it, facing Meade all day. With Meade the day was principally spent in trying to ascertain Lee's movements and in the care of the wounded. It rained in torrents all day which hindered movement. The next day Meade started in pursuit of Lee, but the Union commander moved very slowly while Lee marched day and night, and gained so much time, that when he found the Potomac river in flood and could not cross, he had time to fortify a position before his pursuers appeared. Meade spent July 12th and 13th in reconnaissance for an attack on the 14th, but during the night of July 13th Lee succeeded in crossing the river. The next morning the Army of the Potomac was surprised to find no enemy in sight. Five days later the Sixth Army Corps crossed the pontoon bridge at Berlin to Virginia, the bands playing, "O Carry Me Back to Old Virginny."

After the Battle of Chickamauga Meade sent the Eleventh and Twelfth Army Corps to Tennessee and so weakened his own force. The fall of 1863 was spent in the celebrated forward and back movements. Whenever Meade tried to approach the Confederate army Lee would dart thru a pass in the Blue Ridge mountains and start down the Shenandoah Valley towards Washington. This always gave the authorities at the national capital cold chills and Meade would be commanded to return north. Lee would then turn about and go south again always keeping on the opposite side of the Blue Ridge mountains from the Army of the Potomac. At last in the latter part of November Lee went into winter quarters at Mine Run

near the Rapidan river. Here on November 29th Meade planned to attack the Confederate forces. Early in the morning Sedgwick with the Sixth Army Corps assaulted Lee's left flank, but General Gouverneur Kemble Warren, who with the Fifth Army Corps, was to have assaulted Lee's right flank at the same time, reported to Meade that the enemy was too strongly intrenched to be successfully attacked and Meade then notified Sedgwick to cease his operations. On December 1st the Army of the Potomac retired across the Rapidan river and went into winter quarters at Brandy Station.

On February 2, 1864, Ulysses Simpson Grant was appointed general-in-chief to command all the land forces of the United States, succeeding Henry Wager Halleck, who had held the chief command since July 11, 1862. Grant made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac and while Meade still commanded the Army of the Potomac it was but a nominal command as nothing could be done henceforth without Grant's approval. When Grant became President of the United States on March 4, 1869, he promoted William Tecumseh Sherman to succeed himself as general-in-chief and made Philip Henry Sheridan lieutenant general. Both Meade and Thomas, on account of seniority of service, were more entitled to the rank of lieutenant general than Sheridan. Meade resigned from the service following Sheridan's appointment and died a short time after, many think of a broken heart.

A portion of the battlefield at Gettysburg was set apart for the burial of those who fell there in defense

Life of General Daniel Davidson Bidwell

of the Union. It was dedicated November 19, 1863, and on that occasion President Lincoln delivered his ever memorable address as follows:

“Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

CHAPTER XII

WILDERNESS AND COLD HARBOR

For three long years the operations of our armies had been conducted without united effort. The campaigns of the East and West, tho nominally directed by General Halleck, had really been of so isolated a character that the Confederates could at need detach troops from Virginia to Tennessee, or the reverse, according as the tide might turn on each strategic field.

Grant, the new general-in-chief, gave over the control of events in the West to General Sherman. He soon recognized that Washington, where Halleck had made his headquarters, was a hot-bed of intrigue, and so he decided to stay with the Army of the Potomac, however awkward it might be. He did not delegate authority properly to General Meade, the still nominal commander of this army, and often issued detailed orders over his head. Grant consolidated the five army corps of the Army of the Potomac into three, the First Army Corps being transferred to the Fifth Army Corps, and two divisions of the Third Army Corps being incorporated with the Second Army Corps, while the remaining division was transferred to the Sixth Army Corps.

This was not a wise move for the esprit de corps of the ancient organizations was destroyed by their disbandment, and the new army corps became too

bulky for the difficult country thru which they were to operate.

Grant now commenced his hammering campaign. On May 4, 1864, the reveille was sounded at 2.30 A. M. and soon the whole army was in motion, crossing the Rapidan river at Germanna Ford and Ely's Ford. The route was thru the Wilderness due south, a vast entanglement of second growth timber and chaparral, to the last degree unfitted for the manoeuvres of an army. It was the same dense forest where the Army of the Potomac had been so nearly wrecked when under the command of Hooker just a year before. In many places the undergrowth was so thickly interwoven among the large trees that one could not see five yards in front of the line. The thicket was so close as to make it impossible for artillery or cavalry, and indeed, infantry found it extremely difficult to advance. Bodies of troops had to march by the compass. This blind place was familiar enough to Lee, but quite unknown to Grant.

Hancock with the Second Army Corps led the advance, then came Warren with the Fifth Army Corps, and Sedgwick with the Sixth Army Corps brought up the rear. Colonel Bidwell was now commanding the Third Brigade of the Second Division of the Sixth Army Corps. After crossing the Rapidan river the Army of the Potomac was joined by General Burnside with the Ninth Army Corps.

Lee boldly attacked Grant and for two days a fierce battle raged in the Wilderness. On the extreme right of the Union line was a division which had but a few days before joined the Sixth Army Corps and

was composed mostly of new troops who had never before faced an enemy. In the evening of May 6th General Ewell with the Second Army Corps of the Confederate Army started a movement against the Union right wing. The green men to the extreme right, when struck on their flank by the Confederates, became seized with consternation and fled in confusion without attempting resistance. Generals Truman Seymour and Alexander Shaler with six hundred men were captured by Ewell's men.

The Third Brigade, commanded by Colonel Bidwell, held the Confederates in check while it received a front, flank and rear fire, which made it especially uncomfortable for the boys in blue; still they held on, jumping from one side of the rifle pits to the other, until General Sedgwick appeared about eight P. M. and gave orders to Colonel Bidwell to clear the plank road and the woods in the rear. Colonel Bidwell gave the order and with a yell the boys charged and cleared the woods.

The right wing, if not the whole army, had been in serious danger. General Sedgwick in reporting Colonel Bidwell's conduct described it in flattering terms as follows: "His was the form that sat among the bullets upon his horse like a man of iron, coolly directing the movements which repulsed the enemy, gave us back the field and saved the whole Army of the Potomac from disaster."

Here was a man commanding a brigade in the army, yet only having the title of colonel. Why was he not commissioned a general? Others with less service to their credit were being promoted to the title

of general. Probably he did not have sufficient influence at Washington to secure promotion.

May 7th Lee had a strong entrenched line across the old turnpike and Grant turned off to the left and moved by that flank in the night with as much secrecy as possible for Spottsylvania Court House.

The battles of May 5th and 6th in the Wilderness was almost like fighting blindfold, but Lee deliberately chose it because Grant could not use his superiority of numbers. The Union commander had tried to force back the Confederate advance on the Orange plank road and so get between them and Richmond, while Lee tried to strike a crushing blow upon the rear of Grant's army and cut it off from Washington. Both plans failed, but the advantage remained with the Confederates, for at the end of these two days' battle they were closer to the Union line of march than at the beginning and had inflicted more loss than they had suffered.

Lee divined Grant's purpose and reached Spottsylvania Court House first. There was little fighting on the 9th but the Sixth Army Corps lost its gallant commander, John Sedgwick, who was killed by one of the enemy's bullets, and he was succeeded by Horatio Gates Wright in the command.

In the afternoon of May 10th occurred the first forlorn hope charge. General Emory Upton was directed to take twelve picked regiments from the Sixth Army Corps and lead them in a forlorn hope against the right center of Lee's line. Four companies of the 49th New York Volunteers were selected for this terrible charge.

The men assembled on the open space in front of the Union works and threw themselves upon the ground. All orders were given in suppressed tones, as the Confederates were but a hundred yards distant, in the open field, and the minnies of their skirmishers were whistling among the trees and brushwood. At six-thirty the signal was given, and the men ran forward with a yell, the left had to swing to the rear as they were exposed to a severe flank fire, but the balance of the line cleared the first and second rifle pits. This lodgment in the enemy's lines was unsupported and consequently had to be abandoned.

During the night of May 11th General Hancock with the Second Army Corps, silently withdrew from the position it had occupied on the right of the line, and marching in the rear of the army took a position between the Sixth and Ninth Army Corps, which had not before been occupied. With great caution and silence, preparations were made for a desperate assault upon the line facing this position, which here made a sharp angle, that was to go down in history as the "Bloody Angle." It was hoped by seizing this angle to turn the right flank of Lee's army. But the contest for its possession was to cost the lives of thousands of brave men. Between the new position taken by the Second Army Corps and the Confederate works, the ground was covered with pines and underbrush, and as it neared the Confederate defense ascended to a considerable height.

At two o'clock in the morning of May 12th the Second Army Corps charged the Confederate works at the "Bloody Angle." As the column neared the

rifle pits it met a storm of bullets, but charging impetuously up the hill and over the works, the enemy, surprised and overpowered, gave way, those who could do so escaping to the second line, in the rear, altho thousands were obliged to surrender on the spot, so complete had been the surprise. The victorious column now pushed toward the second line of works, but here, the enemy fully prepared for the attack, made a much more stubborn resistance.

The battle now raged with the greatest fury. The Sixth Army Corps was withdrawn from its position, and marching about two miles along the rear of the line, joined with the Second Army Corps in the attack. The corps arrived on the scene at seven in the morning and received orders to charge thru the dense woods. Bullets, canister and shell came thicker as the men advanced. It was warm work and many were falling. The works that had been taken by the Second Army Corps were now occupied by the Sixth Army Corps, and the Confederates made the most desperate efforts to retake them.

Lee formed his troops in heavy columns and hurled them against the Union line with tremendous force. The Union forces held the Confederate works from the left as far as the "Bloody Angle," and the Confederates still held the rest of the line. Whoever could hold the angle would be the victors; for with the angle, either party could possess themselves of the whole line of works. Hence the desperate efforts to drive the Union forces from this position.

When the Sixth Army Corps took its place in the

front the battle became a hand to hand combat. A breastwork of logs separated the combatants. Men of both sides reached over this partition and discharged their muskets in each other's faces. Finally they began to use their muskets as clubs and then rails were used. The narrow limits of the angle made it impossible to get more than a limited number of men into action at once. Toward dusk Colonel Bidwell's third brigade was relieved.

On the 13th the 49th New York Volunteers buried its dead. They were laid side by side in blankets. Enclosed in the blanket was the full name and rank of each one and at the head of each grave was placed a cracker box board with their names in large letters, so that their friends could easily identify them. It was ten o'clock in the forenoon when with a silent prayer, they were laid to rest. Near the salient was a tree more than a foot in thickness, literally chopped off by musket balls. The stump of this tree can be seen in the National Museum at Washington.

In 1902 the surviving veterans of the 49th New York Volunteers purchased a plot of ground within a few feet of the "Bloody Angle," and at an expense of over \$500 erected a granite monument on it to commemorate the heroic deeds of the regiment on that eventful day, May 12, 1864.

In this short campaign Grant had accomplished nothing which manoeuvring could not have compassed. He starts another flank movement by marching toward the North Anna river. But Lee was there ahead of him and altho the left and right of the Union army succeeded in crossing the river at points several miles

apart, the center of the Army of the Potomac was unable to cross as Lee strongly held the river where Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps tried in vain to ford. A complete stalemate ensued. The two wings of the Union army were unable to co-operate with each other, separated as they were, and so they were obliged to retrace their steps to the north side of the river, and Grant tries another flanking movement, this time for the Chickahominy river, where two years before McClellan had struggled unsuccessfully against the Confederate forces.

When Grant reached Cold Harbor on June 1st he found that Lee had arrived there ahead of him and was strongly intrenched. The next day he made a general attack all along the line, and altho it lasted but twenty minutes he lost ten thousand men.

An assault all along the line is useless. In making an assault successful, a certain point of attack should be selected, picked troops used, and these should be properly supported. Grant in his dispatches stated that Lee would not come out of his intrenchments to fight. But Grant had never tried the proper means to make Lee come out and fight. Instead of moving upon Lee's communications and thus compelling him to leave his works for the open, Grant had constantly hurled his men against field works which he should have learned, by the experience he had recently been thru, that he could not take. Grant's method was just what Lee preferred. He was right in not coming out of his intrenchments to fight.

General Martin Thomas McMahon in an article on Cold Harbor in " Battles and Leaders of the Civil

War," says that in the opinion of the majority of its survivors, the Battle of Cold Harbor never should have been fought. Even Grant in his "Memoirs" regrets the assault at Cold Harbor.

For ten days the Army of the Potomac lay upon the burning sands of the arid plain at Cold Harbor, the greater part of the line without even the friendly shelter of a tree; dirty and grimy and choked with dust, yet not discouraged. The true-hearted soldiers of that magnificent army uttered no words of complaint. On June 12th Grant ordered another flank movement, this time to the James river.

The city of Petersburg acts as an advanced fortress to protect the communications of Richmond with the interior. It is a strategic point of the greatest value. No operations on the James river can be secure without its possession. But neither General Hancock, who was first ordered forward with the Second Army Corps in the direction of the place, nor indeed General Meade, appear to have known that Grant intended that Petersburg should be at once captured. Specific orders had not been issued to this effect. When Petersburg was finally assaulted Lee had had time to firmly intrench himself, and Grant had to sit down and begin regular siege operations. The siege of Petersburg lasted for eight months and when Petersburg fell on April 2, 1865 the Southern Confederacy was tottering to its fall. Seven days later Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House.

The object of Grant's overland campaign was to capture or to destroy Lee's army. He had done neither. Grant's policy of wearing down Lee's army

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by mere attrition, on the principle that the North could afford to lose men while the South could not, was very poor policy. The South was practically exhausted before it yielded. But the theory that there had to be about so much hammering, with so much loss of life and consumption of energy and material, before we could hope to end the war was not a good theory. On the Confederate side the one chance was to prolong the war and not risk a decisive battle. Lee was hampered by the authorities at Richmond and he well knew that there was only one end to being tied to Petersburg and Richmond. He was unable to make Grant relax his grip or withdraw a single man from the West where Sherman was cutting the Confederacy to pieces.

Herewith are given General Bidwell's official reports concerning the operations in the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg. Notice how modestly he describes the enemy's surprise attack on the night of May 6th when his superb handling of his brigade perhaps saved an army from disaster.

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE,
SECOND DIVISION, SIXTH ARMY CORPS,

August 20, 1864.

Sir.—In compliance with orders, I have the honor to make the following report of the operations since May 4, 1864:

I

On the morning of the 5th of May General Sedgwick, finding the enemy were in force on a road leading from Robertson's Tavern into the Germanna

plank road, ordered this brigade deployed and advanced on that road. We drove the enemy for about two miles, when we came on an intrenched line supported by artillery. Shortly after we had arrived at this point the enemy advanced a brigade, charging our extreme right regiment, but they were repulsed by the 49th New York Volunteers and 7th Maine, we taking a number of prisoners and cutting off one of their regiments, which was captured by the 5th Wisconsin Volunteers. Later in the day we made a vigorous attempt to advance our lines, but owing to the strength of the enemy's position failed to accomplish the object.

At 4.30 A. M. on the morning of the 6th we were again ordered to advance and dislodge them, if possible. During the night our line had been strengthened by a portion of the Jersey brigade, and at the appointed hour we made a vigorous assault, but the enemy having during the night strengthened their position, combined with the natural obstacles in our front, of a marsh covered with a heavy growth of thorn bushes, caused us to retire with a heavy loss to the position occupied during the night. About two hours later we were again ordered to advance with the whole line, but could not gain any ground, when an order came to intrench where we were. About half an hour before dark the enemy made a desperate attack on the right of the general line held by a brigade of each of the First and Third Divisions. The Third Division breaking, caused the brigade of the First Division also to break, and all fell back on our line. This, with a heavy attack by the enemy in our

front, came near sweeping away the brigade, and but for the unflinching bravery of the officers and men would have done so. Our second line, changing front to rear, protected our flank, and the front line repulsed several attacks of the enemy. This position we held until twelve o'clock midnight, when we were ordered to retire by the left flank to a position on the Germanna plank road. In this struggle we lost very heavily in officers and men. On the plank road we took up a new position, and remained until dark of the evening of the 8th, when we took up our march for Spottsylvania Court House.

II

We arrived in front of Spottsylvania Court House about five P. M. on the 9th inst. This brigade was deployed on the extreme right of the general line, and ordered to advance with it at a given signal. This we did, breaking the enemy's line, but the brigade on our right, failing to advance with us, caused us to become isolated. With the enemy on both flanks, and it growing dark, we were ordered to retire to the positions, we held before charging and intrench. On the morning of the 10th the 49th New York Volunteers was sent forward, and charged the outer line of the enemy and captured it with a number of prisoners. On the evening of the 10th the brigade joined in the assault on the enemy's line under General Upton, and assisted in capturing a large number of prisoners, the 43d New York capturing one stand of colors.

On the morning of the 12th we were moved to the rear of the position just captured by General Hancock,

and ordered to support a brigade of this division, commanded by Colonel Edwards, at the Angle. The brigade was deployed in line and moved to this point, and two of the regiments, the 49th and 77th New York, charged the Angle and took possession of the crest commanding it, which they held until relieved. The 43d New York, 61st Pennsylvania Volunteers, and 7th Maine were deployed on the right of this position, supporting General Upton's brigade. The first line losing heavily and closing to the left, caused a vacancy, which these three regiments moved into, and where they remained two hours, delivering a musketry fire, and were relieved and removed to the left to the support of a brigade of the Second Army Corps. The troops which relieved the 49th and 77th New York were driven back, and these two regiments, with a portion of the Vermont brigade, formed and retook the crest. About dark the whole line was withdrawn about three hundred yards and went into bivouac for the night. Our loss in officers and men was very heavy in this engagement. On the 13th we remained in this position until dark, when we moved to the Anderson house, and the next day, crossed the Ny river. On the evening of the 17th we moved to the position in front of the Angle, where on the evening of the 18th, the division was formed in four lines of a brigade each. We were in the third line, and it getting light the advance was made waiting for the Third Division to complete their formation. Upon advancing, the Second Army Corps gave on our left, and the two front lines obliquing to the left, brought us in the front line, and the Third Division failing to advance

exposed us to an artillery fire, which took us in reverse, on the flank and in front. In this engagement our loss was heavy and mostly from artillery.

III

During the epoch designated as the North Anna, this brigade was not engaged, and from that time until we were at Cold Harbor we were not engaged, except slight skirmishing. Upon arriving at Cold Harbor, on the 1st of June, this brigade changed front to the left and protected the flank from this attack. On the morning of the 2d we were moved to the right of the Second Army Corps, joining the Eighteenth Army Corps, and formed in four lines and advanced in an assault on the enemy's lines, which proved so strong that we failed to accomplish anything, but advance our lines. Later in the day another assault was tried, but with no better success, when we intrenched and advanced our lines by regular approaches. We remained in these intrenchments until the night of the 12th.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL DAVIDSON BIDWELL,
General Commanding.

To Captain HENRY STEVENS,
Assistant Adjutant General, Second Division.

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE
SECOND DIVISION, SIXTH ARMY CORPS,

August 21, 1864.

Sir.—We remained in these intrenchments until the night of the 12th of June, when we moved across

the Chickahominy via Forge Bridge to James river, which we crossed on the night of the 16th, and arrived in front of Petersburg the next day and relieved a portion of the Eighteenth Army Corps (General William Farrar Smith's) line.

On the 18th we advanced out lines about one mile, dislodging and driving the enemy, and then intrenched.

On the 20th we were moved to the left, and in connection with the Vermont Brigade, relieved a division of the Second Army Corps, where we remained till the night of the 21st, when we moved to the extreme left of the general line near the Williams house. In the afternoon of the 22d we went into position on the left of the Third Division with our line refused toward the Jerusalem plank road, and afterward was moved to the support of the Third Division, which had advanced toward the Weldon railroad. The next day we moved about one mile to the front, which position we held during an attack on our skirmish line near the railroad, and at dark we withdrew to our former position, where we remained until the 29th, when we advanced to Ream's Station, took position, and assisted to destroy the railroad track.

On the 1st of July we returned to the Jerusalem plank road, and on the 2d of July returned to our former position near the Williams house.

It would be useless to attempt to cite individual cases of bravery and fortitude during all these severe and bloody engagements. Every officer and man did his whole duty, and the stubbornness with which every battlefield was contested is attested by the accompany-

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ing list of casualties. But I desire to call the attention of the general commanding the division to the bravery and gallant conduct of Captain and Assistant Adjutant General William Henry Long, who by his efficiency and zeal rendered me much service and added greatly to the success of the brigade; also to the gallant conduct of Captains George Holden Selkirk, George Seymour Orr and Lieutenant Lewis Clinton Small, who rendered valuable service during the campaign.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL DAVIDSON BIDWELL,
General Commanding.

To Captain HENRY STEVENS,
Assistant Adjutant General, Second Division.



Benjamin Bidwell



Jane Harvey Bidwell

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ASTOR, LENOX, AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
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CHAPTER XIII

FORT STEVENS

In 1861 a chain of forts was constructed about the city of Washington, thirty-three south of the Potomac river and twenty-nine north. Fort Buffalo, near Falls Church, was one of the forts south of the Potomac river. The village of Brightwood, north of Washington, was in ante bellum days the summer home of the Blairs, the Lees, the Blagdons, and other prominent Washington families. With the growth of the national capital it is now part of the city of Washington.

Fort Massachusetts was erected in the village of Brightwood and was considered the key to defences of Washington. It had an armament of nineteen guns and was officially described as a powerful and satisfactory work. It had a perimeter of 1125 feet and was 321 feet above mean tide. Within the inclosure were two magazines, a bomb-proof and block house.

The name was changed to Fort Stevens after the Battle of Chantilly, September 1, 1862 where General Isaac Ingalls Stevens was killed with the colors of the 79th New York Volunteers in his hands. It is interesting to note that the 49th New York Volunteers first saw service in General Stevens brigade of the Fourth Army Corps.

The Shenandoah Valley had a peculiar relation to all the campaigns in Virginia. Lying between the two

ranges of the Alleghanies, and running down in a north-easterly direction towards the Potomac this valley afforded the Confederates a hidden and secure means of marching from their base at the upper end down towards Maryland and Pennsylvania and to the rear of Washington. To the Confederates the Shenandoah Valley was a sally port. Its strategic value to the South was very great. But it was also the granary of Virginia, for no portion of her soil yielded such abundant harvests as the smiling plains along the Shenandoah river. No wonder the Confederates clung tenaciously to its possession and Lee gave Early an army there in 1864 about equal in strength to his own at Petersburg.

Twice Lee and his army marched down the Shenandoah Valley for their northern invasions. In 1862 Stonewall Jackson operating in the Shenandoah Valley, discovered what a great influence could be exerted upon the authorities at Washington by being within striking distance of the national capital. The alarm then created at Washington by Stonewall Jackson's presence in the Shenandoah Valley, caused President Lincoln to recall General Irwin McDowell with his 40,000 men from Fredericksburg and so prevented them from going to the assistance of McClellan upon the Peninsula.

In May 1864 General David Hunter was placed in command of the department of West Virginia. He moved up the Shenandoah Valley, captured Staunton, and threatened Lynchburg. Lee now sent General Jubal Anderson Early with the Second Army Corps of the Confederate army against Hunter. Hunter did

not risk a battle, but retreated thru Buford's Gap of the Blue Ridge Mountains into the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia. This retreat of Hunter uncovered the Shenandoah Valley and left the way open to Washington. Lee was quick to act upon the defenceless state of the national capital and he sent Early down the Shenandoah Valley to do all the damage he could, hoping thereby to compel Grant to send away so much of his force as would raise the siege of Petersburg and Richmond.

Early moved so promptly that he was across the Potomac river into Maryland before the national capital was aware of its danger. Grant at first thought the whole thing was a bluff and he did not detach the Sixth Army Corps from his forces in front of Petersburg and send it in haste to the defense of Washington until he heard that Early had crossed the border. Writing in his "Memoirs" years afterwards he says: "If Early had been one day earlier he might have entered the capital before the arrival of the reinforcements I had sent." Washington at this time had for its defense not much else than citizen soldiery, improvised from department clerks and non-combatants.

At nine o'clock on the evening of the 9th of July orders came to the Sixth Army Corps to march to City Point at once as the nation's capital was in danger. Without delay the troops were in motion. The march of fourteen miles to City Point was made in the night, and by noon of the next day the men were all on board transports starting northward.

Early had levied heavy contributions on Maryland

towns and the people of Baltimore thinking they might be called upon to pay tribute to the Southern Confederacy, appealed to President Lincoln for help. The following telegram was sent by the President to Thomas Swan and others at Baltimore:

“Washington, D. C., July 10, 1864.

“Yours of last night received. I have not a single soldier but whom is being disposed by the military for the best protection of all. By latest accounts the enemy is moving on Washington. They cannot fly to either place. Let us be vigilant, but keep cool. I hope neither Baltimore nor Washington will be sacked.

Abraham Lincoln.”

Shortly after noon on July 11th Early and his force appeared on the outskirts of Washington. The whole city was in a panic. Everyone feared there would be a repetition of August 24, 1814 when the English under command of Admiral Sir George Cockburn and General Robert Ross applied the torch to the government buildings and the evening sky was red with the glare of the flames.

But just at this time the transports bearing the Sixth Army Corps touched the wharves in Washington. President Lincoln stood on one of the wharves and chatted familiarly with the veterans. He often made the remark, “Boys, I am very glad to see you.” A great load of worry and responsibility was off his shoulders and he felt like himself again. The citizens accorded the soldiers a royal welcome, many exclaiming: “It is the old Sixth Army Corps, the danger is over now.” As the veterans marched thru

the streets of Washington and out to Fort Stevens they were followed by an immense throng, for the excitement had subsided and confidence was restored.

Early did not attack on the eleventh, deciding to give his weary troops a little needed rest. His chance of making the most brilliant stroke of the war had vanished. The Sixth Army Corps bivouacked on the night of July 11th in a grove in the rear of Fort De Russey. To the right was Fort Stevens, while on the extreme right was Fort Slocum. The next day it was found that the principal force of the enemy was in front of Fort Stevens, and here it was determined to give them battle.

The President, members of his Cabinet, and their ladies came out to Fort Stevens on the afternoon of the 12th to witness the battle. General Wright, commander of the Sixth Army Corp, stayed in the Fort with President Lincoln. This was the only battle of the Civil War of which President Lincoln was an eye witness. What must have been his feelings as he realized that his political opponent in the 1860 campaign, John Cabell Breckinridge, now a general in the Confederate army, was this day fighting in Early's ranks for the capture of Washington. From 1857 to 1861 he had been Vice President of the United States, but now he was fighting to destroy the Union whose constitution he had sworn to uphold.

Soon Colonel Bidwell and his brigade were seen approaching. They marched past the fort into the valley beyond, where they formed in two lines of battle; the 49th New York on the left, the 7th Maine in the center, and the 77th New York on the right.

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The second line was composed of the 122d New York, 61st Pennsylvania, and 43d New York regiments.

Colonel Bidwell was in command and according to preconcerted arrangements, he was to signal to General Wright, in the fort, his readiness for the attack; then the great guns in the fort were to open a storm of shells upon the Confederate position. After volley succeeding volley of thirty-two pound shells had been sent howling over his men into the midst of the enemy, Colonel Bidwell gave the order to charge, and the brave fellows started eagerly forward. In magnificent order and with light steps they ran forward, up the ascent, thru the orchard, thru the little grove on the right, over the rail fence, and up the road straight towards the enemy's position. The Confederates at once stood their ground. Altho obliged to give way before the impetuous charge of Bidwell's men, they fought bravely, and even in their flight to their second line, they turned and poured volleys into their pursuers.

At the summit of the ascent, the enemy was strengthened by their second line of battle. Here they made a stout resistance, and did not give way until darkness closed upon the scene, when Bidwell's Brigade was left in possession of the ground, having driven their adversaries more than a mile. During the night Early's men made their escape towards Rockville, while the Third Brigade was relieved by the Vermont Brigade. At midnight the Third Brigade returned to bivouac in the grove in the rear of Fort De Russey, which it had left in the morning.

During the battle President Lincoln stood by the

side of General Wright, exposed to sharpshooters. General Wright maintained that, as commander of the fort, he was responsible for the President's safety, and must insist that he should retire behind shelter, but Lincoln claimed his rights under Article II of the Constitution which says: "The President shall be commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States." The conspicuous bravery of Colonel Bidwell attracted the attention of President Lincoln and he determined to confer upon him a commission as general, which was soon afterwards done, the commission reaching him about a month later when the Sixth Army Corps was encamped at Charlestown.

The author of "Three Years in the Sixth Corps," speaks of the burial of those in the Third Brigade, who fell that day, as follows:

"We gathered our dead comrades from the field where they had fallen and gave them the rude burial of soldiers on the common near Fort Stevens. None of those high in authority, who had come out to see them give up their lives for their country, were present to pay the last honors to the dead heroes. No officer of state, no lady of wealth, no citizen of Washington was there; but we laid them in their graves within sight of the national capital, without coffins, with only their gory garments and their blankets around them. With the rude tenderness of soldiers, we covered them in the earth; we marked their names with our pencils on the little headboards of pine, and turned sadly away to other scenes."

Since the Civil War the Battleground National

Life of General Daniel Davidson Bidwell

Cemetery has been opened at Fort Stevens and there those who bravely fell that midsummer day have received decent burial.

THE MARCH OF THE GALLANT SIXTH CORPS

There were whispers of danger in Washington town,
There were murmurs of fear of a foe coming down
From the sheltering Maryland hills on the North,
Like a tiger searching for his prey rushing forth,
There was flying in haste with the treasurers of wealth!
There was hiding of moneys and jewels in stealth!
There was massing of crowds on Potomac's fair shore,
For they knew not that near was the gallant Sixth Corps.

To the national chiefs there were hours of suspense;
There was a rushing of men to the lines of defense,
The militia untried and the hospital guest,
The civilian with little of fight in his breast,
And the President stood at the front of the line,
By the guns of Fort Stevens, is it to divine
If the foe could be held but an hour or more,
For he knew of the march of the gallant Sixth Corps.

There was cavalry there but their horses were not,
Yet they made with their carbines a fight that was hot,
And they drove off the men of the enemy's hosts
That were picking off gunners and guards at their posts.
But the chieftains well knew that the valiant display
That they made of opposing the enemy's way
Was pretence that might melt at a battle line's roar,
And they longed for the guns of the gallant Sixth Corps.

To the front in Virginia the word was rushed down
For the Sixth Corps to haste to the capital town.
The assembly was sounded and quickly they sped
To defend the fair home of the government's head;
Not a moment was lost as they hurried away,
Over hills, down the James, into Chesapeake bay,
Up the river Potomac, to Washington's shore,
Where the nation awaited the gallant Sixth Corps.

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From the river to Brightwood the march was begun,
Many miles in the dust and midsummer sun :
Thru the city's rude streets, often greeted with cheers,
And, by patriots anxious and fearful, with tears ;
For the cause of the Union in peril then lay,
Seemed hanging in doubt on events of the day,
And they knew it would rally, triumphant, once more,
As they witnessed the march of the gallant Sixth Corps.

Then away from the city and up the rough roads,
Past the line of deserted suburban abodes :
Up hills steep and wearisome, onward they went,
All their hearts on the sight of the enemy bent :
Never slacking their speed for refreshment or rest,
To the line of battle they eagerly pressed.
And the President hailed them as never before,
As he saw the swift march of the gallant Sixth Corps.

Thru the night on their guns they secured the repose
That they needed to charge their fresh, confident foes :
But at break of morn they were quickly awake,
And their place on the battlefield ready to take :
Then assembly was sounded, the battle lines formed,
And the line of the menacing enemy stormed :
But the foe soon recovered the flags that they bore,
And fled at the march of the gallant Sixth Corps.

Then the battle became a victorious rout,
And it ended at last in a glad, ringing shout,
From the line of defense 'round the capital bent,
And the citizens cheered, for they knew what it meant ;
But for those who laid down their young lives on that day,
We the sweetest of flowers, on their couches will lay :
In our hearts we will cherish, with pride, evermore,
The brave boys in the march of the gallant Sixth Corps.

George Henry Calver.

CHAPTER XIV

SHENANDOAH VALLEY AND CEDAR CREEK

On August 5th the Middle Military Division was constituted with Philip Henry Sheridan in command and this Division was to consist of the Sixth Army Corps under General Horatio Gates Wright, the Eighth Army Corps under General George Crook, the Nineteenth Army Corps under General William Hemsley Emory, and a cavalry contingent under General Alfred Thomas Archimedes Torbet.

Five days later the march was commenced up the Shenandoah Valley. As the army passed thru Charlestown, the scene of the trial and execution of John Brown, every band and every drum corps in the army played the air, "John Brown's Body Lies Mouldering in the Grave." Less than five years had gone by since this wonderful figure in history had paid the penalty for his conviction with his life, and now the very people who had stood about his gallows and expressed their hatred of him were themselves guilty of treason.

The army marched as far south as the little village of Strasburg on the south side of the Cedar Creek, where it was confronted by Early's batteries planted on Fisher's Hill. At this time Mosby and his guerrillas got in the rear of the army at Berryville and captured seventy-five wagons loaded with supplies. Under the circumstances it was deemed best

to fall back to Charlestown, where the enemy attacked on the 21st of August, but after several hours of severe fighting in which the Second Division of the Sixth Corps bore the brunt of the attack, Early's men were driven off, leaving the Union forces in possession of the battle ground.

Altho the Confederates had been repulsed, the position at Charlestown was one which might easily be flanked, and during the night the army fell back to Halltown, just south of Harper's Ferry. On September 18th Early sent General John Brown Gordon with the First Division of the Second Army Corps of the Confederate army towards Martinsburg to drive out the Union forces and destroy the government property. Sheridan perceived this to be the time to attack Early, when his forces were divided.

At two A. M. on the 19th the army moved to attack Early at Winchester, the Sixth Army Corps leading the advance. When the Sixth Army Corps arrived before Winchester and formed a line of battle in a cornfield ready to charge the enemy, it was found that the Nineteenth Army Corps, which should have been on the ground, was left far behind. Orders were dispatched to hasten it to the field of action, but two hours of precious time elapsed before it was in position. These two hours of delay gave Early time to strengthen his right, to throw up earthworks, and to recall Gordon's division to his assistance. At eleven A. M. the advance was sounded, the Nineteenth Army Corps occupying the right, and the Sixth Army Corps the left of the line.

But they had not gone far when it was seen that

the Nineteenth Army Corps was falling back and the Confederates following with yells of victory. The Sixth Army Corps held its own, and the Eighth Army Corps was brought across Opequon creek at quick pace and placed in the rear of the Nineteenth Army Corps. Again the advance was sounded, and so impetuous became the charge that in a little while Early's divisions were rushing thru Winchester in confusion.

The next morning pursuit was commenced of Early's retreating army, which was found to have halted in a strong position at Strasburg. The Confederates were strongly intrenched just south of the village on Fisher's Hill. Sheridan perceived that to charge Early in front against earthworks, bristling with cannon would be presumptuous, so he sent Crook with the Eighth Army Corps on the night of the 21st far to the right thru the fastnesses of the North Mountain to fall upon Early's flank and rear. This they did with the utmost secrecy, and the next day the Confederates were surprised by a fire in their rear, while the Sixth and Nineteenth Army Corps pressed them in front. Soon the whole of Early's army was in a panic and retreating in confusion and rout up the valley. They left behind sixteen guns of which Bidwell's Brigade captured six.

After the Battle of Fisher's Hill Sheridan spent some time in destroying Confederate property in the valley with a ruthlessness that reminds one of the old, barbaric wars. In a report to General Grant on October 7th from Woodstock, Virginia, Sheridan boasts of having destroyed by committing to the flames seventy mills with their flour and grain, and

over two thousand barns filled with wheat, hay and farming implements. Also seven thousand cattle and sheep were either driven off, or killed and issued to the men. The burning by wholesale of barns and mills, because the hay and grain in them might be used by your enemies, would by the same logic justify an invading army at all times for razing every house and burning every blade of grass on the line of its march. War is necessarily cruel, but to mitigate its severity as much as possible, it has been established as a rule of civilized warfare, that private property shall be respected, except when it is needed for the sustenance of the army. To make a solitude and call it peace was in the old dark, rude times the motto, but it does not belong to this age.

Herewith is given General Bidwell's last official report. He never was to make another.

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE,
SECOND DIVISION, SIXTH CORPS,

September 28, 1864

Sir.—In obedience to orders from division headquarters, I have the honor to submit the following report of the part taken by the Third Brigade, Second Division, Sixth Corps, in the Battle of Opequon Creek on the 19th instant:

We broke camp at two A. M. on the morning of the 19th and moved to the Berryville and Winchester pike, where we had the advance of the infantry column of the army. Crossing the Opequon river, and having proceeded about one mile and a half toward Winchester, we came up to the cavalry line, engaging

the enemy, and were ordered to take position on the left of a deep ravine and also form the extreme left of the general line. This position was taken up by the regiments in this brigade in the following order: The 122d New York Volunteers were moved into a rail breastwork the cavalry had thrown up, and the 77th New York Volunteers were placed fifty paces in rear in support; the 43d New York Volunteers were placed on the left in the rear of the 122d New York Volunteers, in echelon; the 49th New York Volunteers on their left, with their left refused, and the 7th Maine on the left of the 49th New York Volunteers, with its left still more refused and resting on Abraham's creek, and the 61st Pennsylvania Volunteers in reserve, in rear of the last three mentioned regiments. While making the dispositions the enemy opened on the brigade with a battery, which did us considerable injury. As soon as the brigade was in position a skirmish line was thrown out crossing Abraham's creek and connecting with a dismounted cavalry skirmish line. About noon I was ordered to have my skirmish line advance, connecting and guiding with the line of the First Brigade of this division, which was on our right. This was done and our line advanced about three hundred yards. Shortly afterwards the lines of battle were all ordered to advance, we guiding to the right. In executing this movement the regiments on the left of the 122d New York Volunteers were moved so much more rapidly as to be able to conform to the direction of the general line when we had reached the most advanced point gained in this charge. The enemy making a charge on the skirmish line on

the left of the creek, which charge also threatened our left, I had the 61st Pennsylvania Volunteers move to protect that flank, and some of the regiments of the brigade on our right having been thrown into confusion by advancing too rapidly and the enemy charging them, I had the 77th New York Volunteers deployed on the right of my line, and at the same time ordered Battery M, Fifth United States Artillery, to take position on my right, which, opening fire checked the advance of the enemy. In this position we remained about two hours, when we were again ordered to advance. The enemy had been pressed back on the right of our general line and retreated across our front to our left. As before, I was ordered to guide and connect with the First Brigade of this division, which in advancing kept obliquing to the right, and as the enemy were accumulating in large numbers in a piece of woods on our left, I had to throw the 43d New York Volunteers in the skirmish line, who extended their intervals as we advanced toward Winchester. In all this maneuvering the battery before spoken of followed us up and went into position and opened fire as each successive crest was gained. After having nearly reached Winchester the enemy all disappeared in our proper front, and the whole brigade line was formed facing to what had been our flank, perpendicular to the Strasburg and Winchester pike, and a division of the Nineteenth Corps came up and prolonged our line to the left. We were then again advanced about half a mile, but the enemy being in full retreat, and it growing dark, we were halted

and bivouacked for the night. This was the close of the action before Winchester.

On the 20th instant we pursued the enemy and came upon them in their intrenchments at Fisher's Hill, near Strasburg, when two regiments of this brigade, the 49th and 77th New York Volunteers, were thrown forward as skirmishers and pickets, with their left resting on the Strasburg and Winchester pike, taking position on the right of the Second Brigade and on the left of the First Brigade, and at the same time deployed the 122d New York Volunteers as skirmishers in our front, who, attempting to advance, found such a heavy line of the enemy in the front as to effectually resist their advancement. Shortly afterward a regiment of the Third Division charged thru them, attempting to dislodge the enemy, but were repulsed, and they fell back thru our lines. Just at dark the First Brigade of this division charged the enemy at this point and drove them from their position, when we took position in the woods on their left in two lines, which we intrenched during the night. The 122d New York Volunteers were withdrawn and two companies of the 7th Maine were advanced as skirmishers. In this position we remained until about four P. M. of the 22d instant, when we were ordered to advance and take possession of a crest immediately in front of the enemy's position, guiding on the First Division, on our left. We moved forward to the crest designated and halted. In executing this maneuver we were exposed to a heavy artillery fire, and the brigade on our right, being still more exposed than we, halted in an old rifle pit about one hundred yards in

rear of our front line. In this position we remained from twenty minutes to half an hour, when reports having come that the left of the enemy had been turned, and they showing uneasiness on our right, we were ordered to charge their works in our front which had been considered by them to be impregnable. At the command "Forward!" the brigade started considerably in advance of the First Division and the remainder of this division and succeeded in planting simultaneously the colors of the 122d and 43d New York Volunteers in an earthwork of the enemy, containing four guns, which were captured together with about 150 prisoners. Some men of the 43d New York Volunteers and 61st Pennsylvania Volunteers turned and fired two of the guns on the retreating enemy, who fled in wild confusion when the whole brigade started in pursuit. Arriving near the Winchester pike they found the enemy had one piece of artillery with a slight support, which they were about to open on us when the 43d New York Volunteers charged and captured it, shooting the horse of the major of the 1st Louisiana, in command of it, capturing him, together with the colonel of the 26th Georgia, who was at the time in command of the Georgia brigade. The brigade then followed the enemy up the pike until halted, where they remained until joined by the 49th and 77th New York Volunteers, who had, during this time, been skirmishing in front of the Nineteenth Corps. Here we remained until the pursuit of the enemy was taken up by the whole army.

I would call attention to the following officers,

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whose conduct during these engagements were particularly meritorious: Lieutenant Colonel Thirson Benjamin French, 77th New York Volunteers, for the able manner in which he handled the skirmish line before Fisher's Hill, the 20th and 22d instant. Major Charles Augustus Milliken, 43d New York Volunteers, for leading his regiment in the charge at Fisher's Hill, assisting in capturing five pieces of artillery. Second Lieutenant and Acting Adjutant William Joseph Kaiser, 49th New York Volunteers, for bravery during the engagement at Winchester, in which he was wounded. Lieutenant Robert Henry Moses, 122d New York Volunteers, for leading his regiment in the charge at Fisher's Hill. Captain Alexander Brown Sumner, 7th Maine, for ability shown in handling the skirmish line before Winchester, and I am particularly indebted to Major William Henry Long, assistant adjutant general; Captain George Holden Selkirk, acting assistant inspector general; Captain George Seymour Orr, acting aide-de-camp, and Lieutenant Lewis Clinton Small, acting aide-de-camp, for the assistance and service rendered on both these occasions, and every officer and man in the command did his duty.

I am, major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DANIEL DAVIDSON BIDWELL,
General, Commanding.

TO Major CHARLES MUNDER,
Assistant Adjutant General Second Division.

During the absence of General Sheridan, who had gone to Washington, the Confederate army under General Early, before daylight on the morning of the 19th of October, fell with terrific force upon the Eighth Army Corps, which constituted the left wing of the Union army. Under cover of a heavy fog the Confederates had quietly captured a large part of the picket force and nothing then interposed between the enemy and General Crook's camps. Toward these they hastened, and so complete was the surprise, that the men of the Eighth Army Corps were, for the most part, quietly sleeping in their tents. They soon became fugitives; and the Confederates seizing the Union batteries along that part of the line, turned them upon the camps of the Nineteenth Army Corps, constituting the center of the Union army. At the same time a Confederate line of battle was advanced against the Nineteenth Army Corps from the front.

Daylight was just emerging from night, thick mists hung like an impenetrable veil over the field, and the men of General Emory's corps were unable to tell whence came this storm of missiles. A general stampede commenced. The enemy came down upon the Nineteenth Army Corps, which gave way, and came back upon the Sixth Army Corps, which constituted the right of the Union army. This was a critical moment. The Sixth Army Corps was at once faced to the rear and moved over the plain to meet the advancing hosts of the enemy. It was posted in the edge of an oak grove. Bidwell's Brigade was on the extreme left.

With fearless impetuosity Early's army moved up the gentle rise of ground in front of the Sixth Army Corps, and the attack from one end of the line to the other was simultaneous. With a clash of steel to steel the astonished Confederates were checked. They had found an immovable obstacle to their march to victory. The Second Division of the Sixth Army Corp had received the most severe shock of the attack, and Bidwell's Brigade holding the Middletown pike, had sustained the attack of the whole of the Second Division of the Second Army Corps of the Confederate army under General Joseph Brevard Kershaw, which came up in compact order to within very close range. This gallant brigade received the onset with full volleys, causing the right of the Confederate line to stagger back. The whole Confederate force was, almost at the same moment, repulsed by the other brigades of the Second Division of the Sixth Army Corps.

The enemy checked, General Bidwell ordered his brigade to charge. Rising from their places in the little graveyard and grove, the brigade rushed forward, the Confederates breaking and running in confusion down the slope which they had just ascended with such confidence, and across the little stream of water. The Confederates, using the twenty-one guns which they had captured from the two broken army corps, turned this artillery fire upon the Third Brigade, causing Bidwell's men to return to their places under shelter of a rise of ground.

It was at this time General Bidwell was struck down by a cannon ball, and the command of the Third

Brigade devolved upon Colonel French of the 77th New York Volunteers. Again the Confederates charged up the crest of the hill and again they were repulsed by the Third Brigade. Finally a third charge was made, and this, too, was repulsed. General Getty, who was temporarily in command of the Sixth Army Corps, in his official report of the battle states that "the Second Division of the Sixth Army Corps held its position on a crest of a hill unsupported and unaided for over an hour after all other troops had left the field, checking the farther advance of the enemy and repulsing every attack, thus giving time to the scattered commands to reorganize and reform."

As the First and Third Divisions of the Sixth Army Corps had fallen back, it was necessary for the Second Division to take a new position, or Early would creep around in their rear and outflank them. So the Second Division moved back leisurely, contesting every inch of ground, about a mile to the north of Middletown, with its left resting on the Middletown pike, and in this position served as a nucleus on which the lines of the army were reformed. As the Second Division took this new position they carried with them all their wounded, all their shelter tents, and all their personal property of every description. This division was not driven back. It had three times repulsed the most desperate charges of the whole Confederate army, and was taking a new position only to save itself from being outflanked.

In the new position the Second Division formed the left, the First Division the center, and the Third Division the right. General Wright, who was in

command of the army during the absence of General Sheridan, brought up other troops to this line. The cavalry consisting of General George Armstrong Custer on the left and General Wesley Merritt on the right; and also the Nineteenth Army Corps, which General Emory had succeeded in restoring to order, was massed on the right and rear of the Sixth Army Corps. With this new line of battle in the strong position now held, General Wright determined that not only should the retreat stop, but also that an advance should be made and the Confederates driven back across Cedar Creek. Altho Thomas Buchanan Read in his poem, "Sheridan's Ride," and many other writers have delighted to falsify history in their account of this battle, the fact remains that the retreat had stopped before Sheridan reached the army at Middletown and the Confederates would have been driven back across Cedar Creek just the same if Sheridan had not arrived on the scene at all.

Between ten and eleven General Sheridan arrived on the ground and he completed the arrangements already nearly finished by General Wright. At one o'clock the Confederates advanced against the right of the Union line, but were repulsed. A brisk fire of artillery was kept up by the enemy for some time, but even this died away and nothing but the scattering fire of skirmishers was heard. Apparently Early had relinquished the idea of any further offensive operations, and as little thought that any were designed by the Union commander. The Confederates quietly proceeded to bring their baggage wagons and

ambulances across Cedar Creek, and set themselves fitting up the Union camps for their own use.

It was not until after three o'clock that Sheridan gave the order to move. The Second Division had to advance upon the lines of the enemy over almost open ground, in the face of a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, and altho parts of the line yielded for the moment to the galling fire, the mass of the division moved steadily on, driving the enemy from its first position back upon its second, and eventually forcing them from this, and driving them in confusion thru Middletown and the plains beyond, to and over Cedar Creek. While the impression is prevalent that the Confederate retreat became a rout, this too apparently is a misstatement. General Early in his official report of the battle states that his army retreated in good order, and carried with them south of Cedar Creek 1,100 Union prisoners.

It is interesting to note that two future Presidents of the United States, Rutherford Birchard Hayes and William McKinley participated in the Battle of Cedar Creek, and as members of the Eighth Army Corps, fell back several miles in company with the retreat of this army corps.

Herewith is given the official report of General George Washington Getty, who was in command of the Sixth Army Corps during most of the fighting at Cedar Creek.

Life of General Daniel Davidson Bidwell

HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION, SIXTH CORPS,

November 15, 1864

MAJOR.—I have the honor to make the following report of the operations of the 19th of October, 1864, the Battle of Cedar Creek:

At an early hour the camp was aroused by picket firing on the flanks of the army, soon followed by heavy musketry on the left. The division was immediately ordered under arms, and at about six A. M. moved by the left in two lines toward the pike. On reaching Meadow Run, a fire from the enemy's skirmishers occupying a piece of woods near the pike, was encountered. Skirmishers were immediately thrown forward, the woods cleared, and the division formed in two lines along the run, nearly parallel to the pike, and connecting on the right with the First Division. As soon as formed, the lines were advanced across the run, the left thrown forward in order to gain possession of the pike. At this juncture, observing the troops on the right falling back in confusion, and running thru the artillery of the corps, and heavy lines of Confederate infantry pressing in that direction, I withdrew the division to the west side of the creek, about three hundred yards, to a strong crest, semi-circular in form and partially wooded. The second line was moved up and extended the first, it being necessary to cover as much ground as possible. The right flank was entirely uncovered; on the left, however, where the crest was refused parallel to and bordering the run, a skirmish line of Bidwell's Brigade (Third), which held that flank, was extended

along the height and connected with a skirmish line of a portion of Merritt's cavalry on the left rear. This movement was closely followed up by the enemy, and the line was barely established in the new position when he attacked in force with great vigor, but was repulsed. The attack fell heaviest on the right, Warner's Brigade (First), and on the left center, where Bidwell's and Grant's Brigades joined. The enemy's lines charged to within thirty yards of the crest, when, unable to withstand our fire, they fell back in disorder. Reforming at the foot of the hill they again charged, to be again repulsed. The enemy now brought up his batteries and concentrated on the division a severe fire of artillery, but being sheltered by the ground the loss from this cause was lighter than could have been expected. After holding this position for over an hour, it became necessary to withdraw the division, the enemy having turned the right and opened a flank and reverse fire upon the line. Obliquing to the right to gain the pike, the division retired in perfect order, marching slowly and making several halts, to a position about a mile north of Middletown, where a new line was established, with the left resting on the pike, connecting with Merritt's cavalry, already in position on the east side of the pike, and slight rail breast works were thrown up. The line of skirmishers was strengthened and the farther advance of the enemy checked. While repelling the enemy's attacks on the crest held in the morning, I was informed that the command of the army corps, General James Brewerton Ricketts being wounded, had devolved upon me. The command of

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the division was transferred to General Lewis Andrews Grant. At this time no portion of the army, with the exception of this division, was fighting on the field. The infantry and artillery, driven by the enemy from the field, had fallen back some distance and were reorganizing.

On withdrawing from the position, I sent orders to the commanders of the First and Third Divisions to conform to the movements of the Second, and when this division was halted the First and Third were brought up to the line and placed on the right, the Third holding the center and the First the right of the corps line. General Sheridan reaching the field between eleven and twelve o'clock, I relinquished the command of the army corps to General Wright and resumed that of the division. During this time the division lay under a heavy artillery fire, and the enemy's skirmishers were sharply engaged with ours, who held them at bay and repulsed several attacks in force. Just before one P. M. I received intelligence from General Sheridan thru one of his aides-de-camp, Captain O'Keefe, that the enemy were preparing for an attack, and that it would probably fall upon my right flank; also directions to mass in that direction. In obedience to these instructions, Green's Brigade (Second), was immediately moved to right and posted by General Wright in support of the right of the Sixth and left of the Nineteenth Army Corps. The attack was made at one o'clock; fell heaviest, I understand, upon the Nineteenth Army Corps and was repulsed. Grant's Brigade was shortly after withdrawn and placed in reserve in rear of the center of

the division. At three-thirty the general advance was made. The division, Grant's Brigade having previously taken its position in the line, moved forward over perfectly open ground, with the exception of the extreme right, which was screened by the woods, and under a heavy fire for half a mile, when a check was experienced. The 93d Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, on the extreme right of the division, fell back in some confusion, for the reason, it is alleged, that the troops on their right fell back. At the same time the Third Brigade, which held the left, resting on the pike, having advanced to a very exposed position, came under a terrific fire of infantry and artillery, and was compelled to fall back. Grant's Brigade (Second) and the bulk of Warner's Brigade (First), however, stood firm, being somewhat covered by a stone wall. The Third Brigade and 93d Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers were soon rallied and brought back on the line. The division then advanced again, and charging over open ground, drove the enemy, who was strongly posted behind stone walls, from his first position, back upon his second, near Middletown. Following up closely, he was soon pressed from this position and driven thru the town. The troops pressed hotly after the now broken Confederates, without regard to lines or order as far as Cedar Creek, where the command was halted, reformed, and marched back to the camps of the morning.

I take great pride in recapitulating the services of the division in the operations of this eventful day. At daybreak the division was on the extreme right of the infantry of the army. Immediately after daylight

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it moved by the left toward Middletown, with a view of gaining possession of the pike and the high ground near the town. On its march it encountered the enemy, formed line rapidly, and immediately advanced, driving the enemy and taking some prisoners. At this time, finding itself on the extreme left, compelled, from unforeseen causes, to halt and occupy a crest three hundred yards to the rear, it held this position unsupported and unaided for over an hour after all other troops had left the field, checking the farther advance of the enemy and repulsing every attack, thus giving time to the scattered commands to reorganize and reform. Finally, outnumbered and outflanked, the division moved back leisurely, contesting every inch of ground, to about a mile north of Middletown, with its left resting on the pike, and in this position served as the nucleus on which the lines of the army were reformed. In the afternoon the division advanced upon the enemy over almost entirely open ground, in the face of a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, and altho parts of the line had to yield for the moment to the galling fire encountered, the mass of the division moved steadily on, driving the enemy from his first position back upon his second, and eventually forcing him from this position and driving him in confusion thru Middletown and the plains beyond, to and over Cedar Creek.

General Daniel Davidson Bidwell, who commanded the Third Brigade, was struck by a shell and mortally wounded early in the day. Actuated by a true sense of duty and patriotism, General Bidwell took up arms at the outbreak of the rebellion, and for more than

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three years followed the banner of the Republic, sharing with his troops the dangers and privations of active field service. As a regimental and brigade commander in the Army of the Potomac he took part in all the arduous campaigns and bloody battles of that army from Yorktown to Petersburg, and was always at the head of his command, at the post of duty and danger. Brave and devoted as an officer, earnest, upright, and single minded as a man, he was beloved by his command and respected by every one. In his death the country and service have suffered a great loss.

I am major, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON GETTY,
General United States Volunteers,
Commanding Division.

To Major CHARLES AUGUSTUS WHITTIER,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General,

MAYOR'S OFFICE, BUFFALO, NEW YORK,

October 24, 1864

To the Honorable the Common Council:

GENTLEMEN:—It is my melancholy duty to announce the death of General Daniel Davidson Bidwell, of this city, who was killed in the Battle of Cedar Creek, on the 19th instant, and to transmit the accompanying communication from Colonel William Findlay Rogers, of the 74th Regiment, New York National Guard. I recommend that the use of the Council Chamber be granted as requested, and that the invitation to attend the funeral be accepted.

Life of General Daniel Davidson Bidwell

Among the names of Buffalonians rendered historic by the war, none will occupy a higher place on the scroll of fame than the late General Bidwell. Leaving an important position of civil trust to do battle for the cause of the Union, devotedly and unostentatiously discharging his duty on many a bloody field, loved by his soldiers and commanding the confidence of his superior officers, promoted from the rank of colonel to that of general for gallant conduct, he has at last sealed his devotion to his country with his life. As a citizen he had won the regard of the community by his amiability and his correct deportment; as a soldier, he has given proof of these qualities of mind and heart, that unfaltering courage and iron will, which entitle him to the highest honors that a grateful and sorrowing people can bestow. It is becoming that the municipal government should testify to its respect for the memory of one who has died that the Nation may live.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM GEORGE FARGO,
Mayor.

The following is the communication referred to:

STATE OF NEW YORK,
HEADQUARTERS 74TH REGIMENT, NATIONAL GUARD,
October 24, 1864

Honorable WILLIAM GEORGE FARGO, *Mayor:*

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to advise you and thru you the Honorable Common Council, that the remains of the late General Daniel Davidson Bidwell,

United States Volunteers, will probably arrive in this city this day.

Permission is respectfully requested to allow the remains to lie in state in the Council Chamber until the hour of the funeral.

The city authorities are respectfully invited to participate in the funeral ceremonies.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM FINDLAY ROGERS,
*Colonel 74th Regiment, National Guard,
State of New York.*

WHEREAS, This Council has heard, thru the communication of his honor, the Mayor, of the death on the field of battle, of General Daniel Davidson Bidwell, be it

Resolved, That the Council does hereby express its heartfelt sorrow, and put on record its tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased. General Bidwell was well known to the members of this Council, and was highly esteemed. At one time an alderman and member of this body, and at various times police justice and justice of the peace in this city, his official conduct was ever characterized by great ability and unbending integrity. But it was chiefly in his capacity as a private citizen, as a noble gentleman and a true friend, that he won the hearts of all who knew him. When the country made its call for defenders against the assaults of rebellion, General Bidwell responded and threw his whole soul, with his sword, into the service of the Union and the Constitution. His mili-

tary experience rendered his zeal more than ordinarily effective, and from the first his friends have heard of him as ever at the post of duty and danger, esteemed and relied on by his superior officers. His services, his cool, undaunted courage, his clear military mind, have been conspicuous on a score of fields and have often obtained the plaudits of commanding generals. When at last he sealed his devotion to the Union with his blood, not this council chiefly, not this city alone, not even the great State, only to whom his valor has added luster, but the whole country, was called to mourn. No braver soldier has laid his life upon the nation's altar of sacrifice. By his fall the cause of the country has been made still more sacred. His name and memory are a bequest which the people will cherish and forever keep fresh.

Resolved, That the several recommendations of his honor, the Mayor, be adopted by this Council, and as a further respect to the memory of the deceased, this Council will attend the funeral in a body, and that it do now adjourn.

DEATH OF GENERAL BIDWELL

He fell in the front of battle,
Where the brave would wish to die,
Rather than bow to the Southron,
Or humble our banner and fly.
Giving for all that was given
Powder and lead and shell;
Front to front with their bravest,
Undaunted, unconquered, he fell.

To right and left and before him,
A myriad host in power,
Earth torn with thundering iron,
Earth rent with a leaden shower;
A river unbridged behind him,
Rolling its angry tide,—
O'erpowered, betrayed, and deserted.
A hero the patriot died.

He would not flee from the foeman.
Nor shame the heroes he led:
Rather than life by surrender.
Death with his own brave dead,
Facing the rifle and cannon,
Sulphur and saber and frown,
True to his country and honor,
Our gallant Bidwell went down.

Gather the dust of the mighty,
Sleeping so quietly there,
Wash out the blotches of crimson
Clothing his beautiful hair.
Woe to the enemy whose bullets
Have channelled a path for the slain.—
That eloquent tongue stilled forever,
And shattered that wonderful brain.

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Silenced and hushed and frozen,
Tongue and lip and word,
Brave as the spirit of Freedom,
And true as his flashing sword;
Stilled the heart that quailed not,
Before them in forum or field,
That alone to death would surrender,
And only to destiny yield.

Take from the field where he battled,
Up from the field where he bled,
His dust; let no soil of the foeman
Give grave to our glorious dead.
For Liberty dwelt in his spirit;
And freeman should fashion his grave
Beneath free humanity's banner,
And not the wretched flag of the slave.

So hither, his body bring hither,
And let him pass gently to sleep,
Like Mars where his night march is ended,—
Within his loved city on the lake;
Where neighbors, chanting in sorrow,
Shall number the glories he won,
And Loyalty, silent and weeping,
Grieves for her favorite son.

Where comes the voice of the lake wind,
From the zephyrs smiling free,
Pure as his chain-spurning spirit,
Let his last dwelling-place be.
Heaven's bright sentinels guarding,
Types of his soul's clear flame,
His requiem chanted by Buffalo,
Undying and grand as his fame.

George Haswell Boker.

CHAPTER XV

PERSONALITY

Daniel Davidson Bidwell was a large man physically, weighing over two hundred pounds. He possessed an amiable disposition and ever had a tender regard for the comfort and well being of the soldiers entrusted to his care. To them he was more like a father than a commanding officer. He was always solicitous for their every want and never hesitated to expose himself to more than the dangers of his regiment, in order to exhibit an inspiring example.

His first wife was Susan Crawford whom he married in 1842. She died in 1851 when only twenty-six years of age, leaving him two daughters, Frances Eliza and Sarah Jane, both of whom are dead. His second wife was Emily Beach, who survived him for twenty-three years.

As we are now living under the dispensation of the Eighteenth Amendment it is interesting to note that General Bidwell was a total abstainer from alcoholic liquor. John Bartholomew Gough, the celebrated temperance advocate, in his "Autobiography," published in 1869, states that in 1850 he delivered eighteen lectures in Buffalo, as the result of which 5,082 people signed the pledge. He mentions what fine people the Buffalonians were and how royally some of them

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entertained him in their homes. The home of Daniel Davidson Bidwell was one of those whose latch string was out in 1850 for the entertainment of John Bartholomew Gough.

General Bidwell was in good company in being an abstainer from tobacco. A book published at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1836, entitled, "The Religious Opinions and Character of George Washington," says: "He never used tobacco in any shape, always expressing a great aversion to it." The only life of Abraham Lincoln which Lincoln read and revised was the campaign book of 1860 "Life of Lincoln," by John Locke Scripps and in it the statement is made: "He is not addicted to tobacco in any of its shapes."

The faculty of Washington College and Mrs. Mary Randolph Custis Lee selected Reverend William Jones, D. D., to edit the Lee memorial volume and this book entitled "Life and Letters of Robert Edward Lee, Soldier and Man," says: "He never used tobacco." Doctor Jones was the chaplain at Washington College when Lee was president of the institution from 1865 to 1870.

The widow of Stonewall Jackson, Mrs. Mary Anna Morrison Jackson, published "Life and Letters of General Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson" in which she says: "Nor did he use tobacco in any form."

In 1920 the United States spent \$2,111,000,000 for tobacco and \$1,036,000,000 for education. The expenditure for tobacco is derived from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, while the expenditure for education is for primary and secondary public

schools and is derived from bulletin 29, United States Bureau of Education, published in 1922.

What an economic waste the use of tobacco entails. The San Francisco disaster in 1906 caused an estimated loss of over \$400,000,000 and an actual insurance loss of over \$200,000,000. This was considered at the time as appalling, but it is not anywhere near as appalling as the annual loss from tobacco.

When someone remarks that the tobacco industry gives employment to countless numbers of people the answer can easily be given that the San Francisco disaster gave employment to countless numbers of carpenters, masons, plumbers, etc., to rebuild the city after the earthquake and fire had destroyed so much property. To burn up over two billion of dollars in tobacco smoke each year because the tobacco industry gives employment to some people is just as logical as to burn our cities that it will give employment to some people to rebuild them.

Gustave Philip Koerner, who was a close personal friend of both Stephen Arnold Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, states in his "Memoirs" that the former had taken up his residence in Chicago because at the time it was growing very fast and Douglas believed it would become the metropolis of the New World. Lincoln, however, remained in the little city of Springfield never being attracted by the greater opportunity of making money at Chicago. Like Abraham Lincoln, Daniel Davidson Bidwell was careless of money and had no taste for the speculation or the thrifty trade by which it is accumulated.

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When Douglas died he was buried in Chicago, the city which he loved. When Lincoln died he was buried in Springfield, the city which he loved. So, too, when General Bidwell was stricken upon the field of battle, his body was brought to Buffalo and buried in the city which he loved. Here he was born, here most of his life was spent, and here he is buried. Who knows but what his spirit hovers over the Queen City of the Lakes and like a guardian angel protects and prospers the inhabitants thereof.

In memory of Daniel Davidson Bidwell. He, who would know all the faults of mankind, must know the faults of his own heart and mind. He, who is leader and master of men, must master be of himself twice again.

Thus was this man, master of mind and heart,
And fitted himself for a noble part,
Defending our Union, when Civil War,
Tore brothers apart, and sent them afar
From their homes: Those soldiers in blue and gray —
Their names are remembered even to-day.
And he stands high in the ranks of the blue —
Lofty of purpose, and of heart so true;
Master he was of himself, mentally
And so physically strong he could be,
Touched never weed, nor wine, for it is so
By overcoming desires men stronger grow.
And he was strong — death found his mind still clear,
His heart still brave, for there dwelt never fear!
Name those who stand, dear to the heart of Fame,
Among them, surely, will be found his name,
For he was leader and master of men,
And master of himself twice again!

Dorothy Watts.

CHAPTER XVI

TRIBUTES TO THE MAN

Address Delivered at the Dedication of a Monument in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, New York, October 19, 1871, by Josephus Nelson Larned.

Seven years ago to-day the brave, good soldier, who lies at rest yonder, and whose name has been written upon this record of stone, flung his life into the scales in which the ransom of the Republic was then being weighed.

It does not seem so long ago to us, who remember, as tho the interval had been weeks instead of years, that sad and solemn day when the torn body of our dead friend and fellow citizen was borne back to us for burial. It does not seem so long ago, but the years slip from us as tho they were sand in our fingers, and, as treacherous as the sands, they sift and heap themselves so fast upon every precious or sacred memory that we may leave unshrined, that before we know, the dreary waste of the forgotten past is swallowing it up.

That is why this monument has been builded, near the grave of the good soldier who died seven years ago to-day; who died on one of the battlefields of the last and decisive encounters of civilization with barbaric force, giving the blood of a noble heart to the great seal, of immortal and immutable validity, with which the charter of freedom was stamped at last. Even to us who knew him, vividly and tenderly cherished as

our recollection of the man and of his heroic life and of his patriotic death is now—it is not impossible that the time might come, even to us, when the image of the one and the record of the other would have faded to indistinctness in our minds, if now and again they were not renewed by the seeing of some impressive memento like this. And how far, at the best of it, thru the little remainder of our span of life would the recollection in which we shall keep them go toward the immortality of remembrance that is due to those who died, as this man died, in the defending of a great cause? Unless we have tremendously mistaken all the meaning and consequence of events, the heritage of freedom and free government which they redeemed at the price of their lives is the heritage of the whole future of the human race—destined to pass from father to child with augmentation and accumulation, down to the last generation of mankind. Surely the succeeding heirs of so great an inheritance of the precious capitalization of patriotic blood will not forgive us if we fail to preserve and transmit to them the names and the memory of the men to whom they owe it. Nor could we forgive ourselves, or respect ourselves, if we failed to keep their memory green and their names monumentally inscribed. A pious duty alike to the dead, to the living and to the unborn millions who will come hereafter—a pious duty with which loving, reverent and grateful feelings coincide—impel the building of such memorial shafts. It would be pitiful to leave it so that there could ever come a time, while marble will last or granite endure, when our children's children, or a child of theirs,

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could approach this spot and not be hushed by the silent admonition of an ever lifted finger of stone, and told to whisper reverently the name of one of those who shielded the Republic with their bodies and took upon themselves the mortal blows with which treason tried to strike it down.

All around us in this place there is more than a score of such graves: Wilcox, the Wilkesons, the Burts, Bullymore, Budd, Faxon, Mulligan, Dewey, Ellis, Blatchford, Tuttle, Woltge, Hosmer, Farnham, Wallace, Herriman, Richardson, Fero, Newell, Justin, and many more are here, and I trust that the chisel which has begun its work, in this, will not rest until it has marked the burial place of every one—the General and the private soldier alike; for the equality of a common martyrdom obliterates every gradation of rank in that high peerage to which they have all been raised.

I have said that he who lies here was a brave, good soldier. He was more than that. The brave heart was as tender and true and honest as it was brave; full of conscience of duty, and therefore full of that grandest patriotism of all, which grows not so much out of the pride of country, which the serf of any autocrat may feel, as out of faith in and hope for the institutions of free government, upon which this nation of United States is founded. In his case, as with so many others whose stuff was tried by the exigency of war, it was the good citizen that made the good soldier.

When I say these things of him I am not using empty and at random the phrases of eulogy. I am

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declaring the testimony of all who best knew Daniel Davidson Bidwell, both before and after he entered the perilous path of duty which led to his death. We most of us knew him well in those peaceful days when he was with us here. Doubtless there are some now present who knew him from his boyhood up, for he was born, cradled and reared in Buffalo. He was the son of Benjamin Bidwell, the pioneer shipbuilder of this port. His birth occurred in the then separate village of Black Rock in the year 1819. I do not propose to follow the details of his life, because I could not trace in them, if I did, the growth or shaping of the man, which is all that makes the details of such a life interesting.

At the age when his profession was to be chosen he studied law in the office of the late James Barton. For some reason, however, his pursuit of law at that period ended with the initiatory study and he never entered upon professional practice. I think it must have been more by circumstances than by preference that he was led for a time into mercantile life, for it is certain that his nature was not that of a man of business. He was careless of money and had no taste for the speculation or the thrifty trade by which it is accumulated. A few years passed in the employment of a firm in which his father and elder brothers were partners, were followed by his election to the office of Justice of the Peace, and some years later he was called to a more important magistracy — that of Police Justice for the city, which he filled until the outbreak of the war. It is an office for which few men are fitted and his rare adaptation to its trying and difficult

duties became all the more marked. He was a just man by every instinct of his mental, as well as his moral nature; keen in his reading of men; quick and seldom erring in the detective faculty of a shrewdly honest mind, which sifts the truth out of contradictions; firm, with the firmness that is sinewy and human — not of flint; stern and austere when occasion needed, but always with a hidden kindness looking out of the kindly eyes. It seems to me that he was almost the model of a magistrate for such a court as the one in which he sat. My duties as a reporter of news at that time took me almost daily to his court, and it was there that I learned to feel toward him the affectionate respect which I am trying to express with sincerity to-day.

From his earliest manhood he had been exceedingly fond of military exercises, and to that taste we owe the most important public services of his life — services which must be measured far back of those that he rendered on the actual field when war occurred. It is doing no injustice I am sure, to others who labored with him in the good work, which so few people appreciated then or understood, to say that during twenty years prior to the war no man in this community did so much as he to cultivate, keep alive and make contagious the spirit of those militia organizations, without which the national government in 1861 could have summoned nothing better than a mob to meet the first onset of the Southern rebellion. He trained himself first as a private in the old 65th Regiment of the State Militia, then as a lieutenant, and afterwards as Brigade Inspector. On the death

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of Captain Burdett of Company D in the 65th, he was chosen to the captaincy of that company, which became thenceforward the central object of his thoughts and aspirations. He re-created it, infused it with his own soldierly enthusiasm and ardor, and made it what no company of citizen soldiery had ever been before. Presently he withdrew his company from the Sixty-fifth Regiment, re-organizing it as an independent corps, with a view of making it the nucleus of a new regimental organization. The new regiment soon grew into existence and Captain Bidwell's Company D became part of what is now the 74th Regiment of the New York State National Guard. He was offered the colonelcy of the regiment, but refused it. The company into which he had drawn the best young manhood of Buffalo had grown into his life and became part of himself. It was his pride, his pet, his military family, which he loved with fatherlike affection. And all the time I think he looked with serious forethought to the possible time of unexpected public need when this school of young soldiers, whom he was training up, might prove the usefulness of his work. I do not believe that his expenditure of time, and care, and interest, and money, upon what used to be sometimes laughed at as "amateur soldiering"—I do not believe that it was all amusement and play to him, but I do believe that he kept continually in his mind the recollection that sometime the country might have need of men who knew something of the discipline and art of action in arms together.

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That time came at last, and he was ready, and the men whom he had trained for it were ready. How many out of that old Company D there were who answered the national summons I cannot state, but we know that they outnumbered the few who by any cause, were held at home. The pupils and privates in that little school of amateur soldiering became teachers and leaders of the rude troops that were hastily made up for actual war, and the usefulness of the training which had prepared them for such a service is more than any man can estimate.

His place of duty was quickly found. During the summer of 1861 the 49th Regiment of New York Volunteers was enlisted and organized with Colonel Bidwell in command, and on the 16th of September, that year, he led it away to the seat of war. It reached the field when General McClellan was reorganizing the Army of the Potomac in front of Washington. Its redly written history for the four fateful years that followed is the sad and glorious history of that heroic army, a part of which it remained almost to the end. The battles of Malvern Hill; the second defeat at Bull Run; the costly victories at South Mountain and Antietam; the bloody and terrible failures at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville; the deadly but glorious conflict at Gettysburg were among the fiery ordeals thro which it passed and by which its thinned ranks became hardened into a veteran line. At the very outset his men learned that their colonel was one who cried "Come!" and showed the way. He never hesitated to expose himself to more than the dangers of his regiment, in order to exhibit an inspiring

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example. His face was as calm, his bearing as cool, his mind as composed, his voice as steady when he rode along the line thru a storm of plunging shells or whistling bullets, as it used to be when he led some holiday parade. Of course there was confidence between commander and men in such a case—confidence and warm affection, too.

There came a time when that perfect discipline of confiding obedience to which Colonel Bidwell had trained his command, saved a whole army from disaster. It was one of the nights of those terrible days in the Wilderness, when Grant set out to hew his way to the rebel capital. The enemy had stolen a march into the rear of the Sixth Army Corps, which formed the right of the Union line. Our troops were surprised, confused and rolling up in appalling disorder, until the rout reached the position which was occupied by the veteran 49th, and there it was stayed by the cool, calm courage of Colonel Bidwell. "His was the form," says a newspaper correspondent who wrote of the scene—"His was the form, on that portentous evening, that sat among the bullets upon his horse, in the language of General Sedgwick, 'like a man of iron' coolly directing the movements which repulsed the enemy, gave us back the field and saved the whole Army of the Potomac from disaster." Had Sedgwick lived, there can be no doubt that the "man of iron" would have dated his promotion to the rank of General from that portentous evening. But he was to wait a little longer for his well-earned "star" and to win it anew.

In July, 1864, when Richmond had been reached

and invested, the Sixth Army Corps was hastily detached and hurried to Washington, for the defense of the capital, then threatened by the demonstration of Early, who had overwhelmed Hunter and Sigel and broken out of the Valley of the Shenandoah. It arrived just in time to confront the rebel advance at the center line of the defenses of the capital. Colonel Bidwell was then commanding the Third Brigade of the Second Division, and his Brigade was selected to drive the enemy back. A brilliant engagement followed—the well remembered battle of Fort Stevens—in which the troops under his command were alone engaged. It was fought under the eye of President Lincoln, who had ridden out to witness the battle, and Colonel Bidwell's promotion was determined then and there. He had broken the rebel line, and their retreat from the front of Washington followed speedily after. He received his commission as General a month later at Charlestown, Virginia.

The Sixth Army Corps had then joined the forces in the Shenandoah; Sheridan had assumed the command of the whole, and that wonderful campaign in the valley, which we think of with bounding pulse, even now, was just being opened. Its thrilling episodes, followed in quick succession. Early and his swaggering army went whirling thru Winchester and staggering from Fisher's Hill; Sheridan had pursued its shattered columns as far as Harrisonburg; had devastated the whole region to make it incapable of subsisting a rebel force, and had fallen back to Cedar Creek to enter camp and give his exhausted soldiers rest.

And now we approach the tragic, culminating scene in which our friend acted his last, heroic part, in the stormy dramas that are played this side of the grave. A few days had sufficed to bring reinforcements to the beaten rebel army and measurably reconstruct its broken organization. Maddened by the humiliation of his defeats, Early had crept back to the vicinity of the Union camp on Cedar Creek and watched for an opportunity to snatch revenge. The Sixth Army Corps had been ordered back to the Richmond front. Early learned the fact; but the order had been instantly countermanded and that he did not learn. Sheridan had gone to Washington, and Early had been informed of it, but his spies did not tell him that the journey had been made at flying speed and that Sheridan, on his return, was already only twenty miles away, sleeping that night at Winchester. And so he planned a surprise attack upon the Union army for the early morning of the 19th of October. A thick fog settled in the valley and helped his design. Silently, in the gray dawn of the morning, the three divisions which had been massed for the attack, stripped of every accoutrement except their ammunition and their arms, stole thru the fog and thru the shadow of a wooded hill, across the intervening creek, and dashed with terrifying yells upon the works of the sleeping troops at the left of the Union line. The surprise was complete. There was little chance for rallying in the foggy darkness, under the deadly fire which the yelling assailants poured in as they advanced. The Eighth Army Corps, which held the left of the line, was sent flying from its intrenchments,

only to encounter another division of the enemy, which had reached its flank by a circuitous route. Large numbers of prisoners were taken in the well drawn net, and the whole left wing of Sheridan's army on Cedar Creek was practically cleared from the field within an hour. The Nineteenth Army Corps, which occupied the center of the line, with the Sixth Army Corps on its right, was now left exposed to the enemy, who closed hotly in upon its flank, while Early at the same time, pressed it with his remaining forces in front, and the artillery of the enemy, together with the guns that they had captured, were tearing its ranks with shell. It was more than flesh and blood can bear. The troops wavered. The division of its left gave way. The flanking columns of the enemy were steadily making headway toward the retreating trains of the army on the turnpike toward Middletown. The situation was ominous of a terrible disaster and Sheridan was twenty miles away.

Everything depended now upon the old Sixth Army Corps, which had saved so many a field. It was swung from its position on the right, into a line facing the left attack of the enemy, and took its ground near the summit of a slight bare ridge, across which the shells from the rebel batteries came plowing thickly. Twice the enemy charged its line and were driven back after a desperate encounter, hand to hand. Then the men were ordered to lie down upon the slope. General Bidwell sat erect upon his horse, a few paces behind his prostrate brigade, as cool as tho the storm of fire and death was not playing around him. Colonel Selkirk, of his staff, sat near. A shell had dropped and

exploded among the men a little distance down the line, and they both were intently looking to see what fatal work it had done. At that instant he was struck down. A passing shell had town his left shoulder away and hurled him, unconscious, to the ground. The lightning could not have been swifter or more noiseless in its stroke. His companion heard nothing, but one moan, and turned to find the General stretched upon the earth. His riderless horse stood still, as tho it had not felt the emptying of its saddle.

Tender hands raised up the mutilated and insensible form and bore it back to a hospital in the rear. The dying soldier revived after a time from his swoon, and the surgeons told him that he had not long to live. He said calmly that he had expected that it was so, and began with composure to prepare for his parting with earthly things. His grief at the prospect of death seemed to be not for himself, but for his wife. Among the first of his thoughts was to ask that a little colored boy—one of the homeless waifs of the war—who had been his servant for some time, should be sent to Buffalo, and committed to the care of his family and friends. The few directions that he had to leave were briefly given, for he was in mortal agony from the first. But his mind was steadily clear except in the short intervals when strong opiates gave him sleep. And thus he lay thru the slow hours of nearly half a day waiting for the gates of the other life to open.

And while he lingered there, out at the front, the tide of disaster which had borne him down was being rolled back, by a powerful hand, in a mighty wave of

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overwhelming victory. Sheridan had come with his electric presence and the resistless force of his indomitable will, and had saved the day. And, so haply, there shone around the bed of the dying soldier, before he died the glories of a surpassing triumph for the cause which he had loved better than his life.

The last that he is remembered to have said to the one who stood by him to the end were: "I have tried to do my duty." The thought of duty was his last, I am sure, because it had been the thought of his life. He did it always as men do who try.

I do not know what legend has been inscribed upon these monumental stones, but I hope that the chisel has written the simple, touching and true words of his own dying testimony, that

"He tried to do his duty."

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICES HELD
IN BUFFALO, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 19, 1914, BY
SERGEANT ALEXANDER HAMILTON MCKELVY
OF THE 49TH NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS.

The name of Daniel Davidson Bidwell has been honored as citizen and soldier for three-fourths of a century. General Bidwell's active connection with the militia of the Empire State showed the bent of his mind toward things military, and when his country's flag was assailed by armed foeman, he at once threw himself into the conflict. The organization of the

Second Buffalo Regiment was at once undertaken and carried to success by himself and brother officers and patriotic citizens of Buffalo.

The 49th New York Volunteers was a favored regiment, by having a man over us in whom we could — and did — place absolute confidence at all times, and especially when in action with the enemy. The feeling of resentment shown by green men over the relentless drill, which in some cases assumed the form of threats, soon gave way to respect and confidence, and later affection, and it was not long until we looked upon him more as a father than a hard master. And when, in time, we came to face death, we well knew that the brave commander would never put us in any place where he would not accompany us, and from which he could not extricate us. I well recall his coolness and superb courage when under fire, and how he would — in his crisp manner of speech — admonish us to keep our heads down and our bodies covered.

At Camp Lincoln, before Richmond, we were attacked, and in our rifle pit we were hugging dear old mother earth most affectionately while the Colonel, erect and portly, with his sword tucked under his arm, walked back and forth on the edge of the trench with one eye on the enemy and the other on his boys, the personification of the well-poised and fearless soldier, and while the men were dodging and boring into the ground he walked among the singing bullets and screeching shells as peacefully as if he were on his way to church. How he thrilled and inspired us by his magnificent presence and bearing in times of great

danger. Like the Scotch hero, Roderick Dhu: "One blast upon his bugle horn was worth a thousand men."

Once when I was expecting a reprimand from him I was delighted by his asking me for information which I was able to give him.

During the weary night march from Savage Station to White Oak Swamp, tired and discouraged, I threw myself down on a brush pile over a mud hole, and was awakened by a punch in the ribs and a yell in my ear to "get out of this, the Johnnies are coming." Well I flew across White Oak Swamp bridge in the mad rush of men, supply and ambulance trains, as the pioneers were waiting to burn it to prevent the crossing of the enemy.

I searched far and near for the regiment but got no trace or news of them till late in the afternoon, and after crossing the gory battlefield I found them on the rear guard and behind a fence overlooking a ridge, "watching and waiting" for the enemy under Stonewall Jackson.

Colonel Bidwell sat on the fence and as he saw me approaching the line he beckoned me to come to him. I thought I was to get my "calling down" for wanton straggling, but he seemed glad to see me, and then asked me where I had been and what I had seen of the battle on our left where the fighting had been very severe. Well, I told him how I had lost track of the regiment and that I had tried to make my way to the James river, thinking the division had advanced, and that I had met our trains coming back on the run, the drivers reporting that the Confederates had got between them and the river.

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He asked me several questions as to the situation, then told me to get my place in the ranks, which I most gladly did. One night at Camp Lincoln I was guard in front of General "Baldy" Smith's tent and along toward morning I got the fool idea in my head to clean up my musket, and just at daybreak, as I sat on a stone with the gun barrel across my knees and other parts scattered on the ground, I was horrified by the general emerging from his tent and the arrival of his orderly with the horses. I learned later that he was in the habit of getting out at break of day to "ride the lines" in front of his division. Not a word was spoken, but he gave me a stony glare as I sat on the stone which froze me stiff, and unsaluted by his sentry, he mounted his horse and galloped away to the front.

When I was relieved from duty I was asked to call at Colonel Bidwell's tent, and on entering and saluting I was asked why I failed in my duty to the commanding general. Of course, I made the best defense I could which "also was vanity," and after a curt remark from the colonel, "Go to your quarters, sir, you are free for this time, but if I hear of any further breach of duty you will not get off so easily." I walked away, glad it was no worse.

How merciful he was to us green lads and how carefully he looked after our every want and interest. As the ladies are wont to remark: "He was just dear." Colonel Bidwell was my beau ideal of a volunteer soldier, and he certainly captured the hearts of all his men. At the time of my wounding and capture in the autumn of '63 thru the recklessness of Major

Ellis — the field officer of the Sixth Army Corps picket line — when he ordered me, sergeant in charge of the extreme left post, and Nick Wagner to follow him beyond the lines, and we not being able to keep up with his galloping horse, fell into the hands of Confederate cavalry, I afterwards learned from my brother that when the fact was known to Colonel Bidwell, he sent for Ellis and reprimanded him most severely for his part in the unfortunate affair.

Had we been under the colonel instead of the major, that blunder would never have happened. I never got back to the regiment, but spent my third year of service in Libby prison and the hospitals at Annapolis Junction. I had been at home some three weeks when the battle at Cedar Creek took place and I received the sad news of the death of General Bidwell.

In the year 1890 the Sixth Army Corps got together at Philadelphia and went to Winchester to dedicate a fine monument which had been erected to the memory of General David Allan Russell, who fell in the Battle of Winchester, while commanding a division of the Sixth Army Corps. I think I was the only member of the 49th New York Volunteers present on that occasion, and we spent three days in visiting the battlefields, and at Cedar Creek I had the great good fortune to meet General George Washington Getty, who was the commander of the Second Division and commander of the Sixth Army Corps while General Horatio Gates Wright was temporarily in charge of the army, owing to Sheridan's absence.

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As we stood overlooking the field I asked him if he could tell me just where General Bidwell fell, and he replied: "I could take you to the exact spot now marked by a large boulder and which is about one mile from where we stand." I then asked him about the conduct of the old White Cross Division on that momentous occasion, and what they were doing when Sheridan arrived on the field. He said they were lying behind a slight ridge, and skirmishing with the enemy just back of Middletown, a small hamlet, and that the Second Division of the Sixth Army Corps, or the old White Cross Division, was the only considerable body of troops facing and holding back the Confederates on that bloody field.

And fifty busy momentous years have passed since that famous Battle of Cedar Creek, where our dear Colonel sealed his patriotism with his life blood. His work was done and he was called home to be forever with the Lord, while we, his boys, are left for some good purpose, I trust and believe.

May the beloved memory of that good friend, soldier and patriot inspire us to a nobler and more useful life. Comrade, sleep well, hail and farewell.

SERGEANT SUMNER ALONZO SMITH'S TRIBUTE

When I was twenty years of age I enlisted at Stockton, New York, September 6, 1861, in Company G, 49th New York Volunteers. The town of Stockton, in Chautauqua County sent over ten per cent of its population to the front during the Civil War, which is a record but few other towns of the country can boast. Two days after General Ambrose Everett

Burnside assumed command of the Army of the Potomac in November, 1862 I was promoted to be corporal, and two months later I became sergeant.

An officer who used his men kindly and performed his duty upon the field of battle won admiration, love and respect, and no duty was considered too arduous for his men to do for him. No commander in the army was more beloved by his men than Colonel Bidwell and long after he became a general, the men of the 49th New York Volunteers still spoke of him as "Our Colonel."

Sometimes the captains and lieutenants took but little interest in the men in their companies, but Colonel Bidwell was always thoughtful and considerate of every member of the regiment. He knew that we were hardly more than boys and sometimes homesick to get back home. The first man of the 49th New York Volunteers to be killed in action was Milton Lewis on April 5, 1862. I will never forget how tenderly Colonel Bidwell wrote a comforting letter to his widowed mother at Jamestown, New York. Young Lewis was also the first man from Chautauqua County to lose his life during the Civil War. How well I remember him, a slight boyish figure, with black hair and eyes. He was just a trifle older than myself.

On the morning of May 3, 1863, the Sixth Army Corps under General John Sedgwick crossed the Rappahannock river at Fredericksburg, stormed Marye's Heights and advanced as far as Salem Church, when it was attacked in force by the whole of the Confederate army. It was with great difficulty that Sedgwick was able to extricate himself from his perilous posi-

tion and retire across the Rappahannock river. On the night of May 4th during this retreat the 49th New York Volunteers was the rear guard and three companies of the regiment, G, I and K, would have been captured by the enemy, but for Colonel Bidwell's unceasing watchfulness and care. When darkness came these three companies were waiting for the order to move and wondering why it did not come. It seems an order had been given, at the right, to move off quietly, which had been repeated along the line until it reached an interval between companies and those three companies beyond, which included my own company G, had received no orders. The regiment had gone some distance when Colonel Bidwell discovered our absence. It was a night of consternation and there was a feverish haste pervading among the whole Sixth Army Corps to have the Rappahannock river separate Lee's army from our own forces. But while others were hurrying on as fast as they could go, Colonel Bidwell halted the 49th New York Volunteers until us absent ones could be found and rescued. It is needless to state that our admiration for our Colonel increased very much that night for we narrowly escaped capture by the enemy.

I was wounded at the Bloody Angle, Spottsylvania Court House, on May 18, 1864, and altho burdened with a multitude of cares and duties Colonel Bidwell was diligent in making inquiry as to my condition until my wound was fully recovered. How sad we all felt when he lost his life at Cedar Creek. Many of us would rather have given our own lives instead. Allow

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me to close this somewhat imperfect tribute of appreciation with the following poem :

Close his eyes, his work is done!
What to him is friend or foeman,
Rise of moon, or set of sun,
Hand of man, or kiss of woman!
Lay him low, lay him low,
In the clover or the snow!
What cares he? he cannot know:
Lay him low.

As man may, he fought his fight,
Proved his truth by his endeavor;
Let him sleep in solemn night,
Sleep forever and forever.
Lay him low, lay him low,
In the clover or the snow!
What cares he? he cannot know:
Lay him low.

Fold him in his country's stars,
Roll the drum and fire the volley!
What to him are all our wars,
What but death bemoeking folly?
Lay him low, lay him low,
In the clover or the snow!
What cares he? he cannot know:
Lay him low.

Leave him to God's watching eye,
Trust him to the hand that made him.
Mortal love weeps idly by:
God alone has power to aid him.
Lay him low, lay him low,
In the clover or the snow!
What cares he? he cannot know:
Lay him low.

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